

SUPPLEMENT

PART II

Continued from

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**CODEX (B') BETA
OF THE
ECUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE OF CONSTANTINOPLE:**

**ASPECTS OF THE HISTORY OF THE
CHURCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE**

by

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PART II

28 (40, 20)

RESIGNATION

Paraitesis

Patriarch Kyrillos I

1 February 7130 [1622], Indiction 5

Metropolitan Ioseph of Paronaxia resigns from his see because he is unable to bear the burdens of office and its indebtedness.

†Metropolitan Ioseph, formerly of Paronaxia¹

There is a menologema at the bottom of the page that is unrelated to the text.

Cited: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Vivliotheke*, IV, '11; Gedeon, *Ephemerides*, p. 92.

1. In the MS: 1 Feb.-May 1622; Nos. 28, 29.

Inclusive dates: 1608-1612, deposed; elected Proedros of Melos, then returned to Paronaxia from 1617-1 Feb. 1622, resigned. Sphyroeras, TEE, X, 89; Gedeon, *Ephemerides*, 92.

The text of Ioseph's deposition (dated, Mar. 1613) states that he was stripped of all hierarchical rank and dignity with no possibility of restoration. Nonetheless, he was restored. See Chasiotes, *Melessenoi*, pp. 107, 199-201 for text.

29 (41, 21)

ELECTION

Ekloge

Patriarch [Kyrillos I]

[1 February] 1622, Indiction 5

"The most learned Hieromonk" Hieremias is elected

Metropolitan of Paronaxia¹ to succeed Ioseph who resigned.²

Other candidates: Hieromonk Paisios and Hieromonk Neophytos.

†Theophanes of Old Patras, †Timotheos of Serres, †Parthenios of Ainos, †Akakios of Mesemvria, †Euthymios of Phanarion, †Melchisedek of Raidesto

†Confirmed by: Patriarch [Kyrillos] of Constantinople

Menologema

Menologema in the text: May, Indiction 3 and July, Indiction 6.

Resume: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Vivliotheke*, IV, 11. He only cites the year. Gedeon, *Ephemerides*, p. 92.

1. In the MS: 1 Feb. 1622-Sept. 1624; Nos. 29, 36, 37, 39.

Inclusive dates: Elected, 1 Feb. 1622-Apr. 1632 when his successor Veniamin was elected and he is cited as deposed; Sathas, 569; Chamoudopoulos, EA, II, 689; Codex Alpha, p. 231; Gedeon, *Ephemerides*, 92; Sphyroeras, TEE, X, 89; and Ateses, II, 171.

2. See above No. 28.

30 (37, 19)

ELECTION

Ekloge

Patriarch [Kyrillos I]

2 February 7130 [1622], Indiction 5

Hieromonk and pneumatikos Neophytos the Archimandrites of Alexandria is elected Metropolitan of Heraklia¹ to succeed Timotheos who died.²

Other candidates: Hieromonk and pneumatikos Daniel and Priest Laurentios

†Theophanes of Old Patras, †Timotheos of Serres, †Parthenios of Ainos, †Parthenios of Varna, †Akakios of Mesemvria

Menologema

Menologema in the text: April, Indiction 3.

Text: Arampatzoglou, Photieios, I, 210, n 30. He omits Parthenios of Ainos and adds Parthenios of Kyzikos. Resume: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Vivliotheke, IV, 11. He has Neophytos of the Great Church instead of "Neophytos the archimandrites of the great city of Alexandria, a man graced with honor and every virtue." Cited: Germanos, VI, 75 and Kourilas, Thrakika, XXVIII, 73. The latter follows Arampatzoglou in his errors.

1. In the MS: 2 Feb. 1622-May 1635; Nos. 30, 31, 36, 37, 41, 48, 49, 51.

Inclusive dates: Elected, 2 Feb. 1622-mid June 1636, elected Patriarch of Constantinople as Neophytos III.

Neophytos had been expelled from his metropolis by Patriarch Kyrillos II during the latter's second term (1/10 Mar. 1635-mid June 1636); see below No. 58. He was able to return when Kyrillos II was deposed. He was then elected "interim" patriarch due to Kyrillos I Loukaris' delay in returning from exile. Neophytos served to about 5 Mar. 1637 when he resigned in favor of Kyrillos I. He left Constantinople for the island of Chios where he entered the Monastery of Nea Mone. Germanos, Orthodoxia, IX, 522-23; Germanos, VI, 75.

2. See above No. 12.

31 (38, 19)

CONFESSION OF FAITH

Patriarch Kyrillos I

[February 1622]

The confession of faith of Metropolitan elect Neophytos of Heraklia.

†Neophytos, by the grace of God, candidate for the most holy Metropolis of Heraklia¹

Neophytos signed the confession twice, once at the top and once at the bottom.

Cited: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Vivliotheke, IV, 11.

1. See above No. 30.

32 (44)

A PETITION

Engraphon

Patriarch Kyrillos I

May 7130 [1622], Indiction 5

Christians from Korinth who have repeatedly petitioned the Patriarchate for a genuine hierarch "to bless and sanctify them" are granted their petition which is officially noted here.

Metropolitan Anthimos of Korinth,¹ who was responsible for the unjust death of Metropolitan Dionysios of Lakedaimonia,² was deposed. But out of "mercy," due to his old age, he was permitted to receive the revenues of Korinth.³

†Parthenios of Kyzikos, †Neophytos of Nikomedia, †Theophanes of Athens, †Gabriel of Naupaktos & Arta, †Theophanes of Old Patras, †Gregorios of Larissa, †Ignatios of Chios, †Ioasaph of Prousa, †[Nektarios] Archbishop of Tzia & Thermia,⁴ †Gregorios of Andros, †Daniel of Gangra,⁵ †Grand Logothetes of the Great Church [George] who signs for [Paisios] of Thessalonike, [Ioasaph] of Lakedaimonia, [Parthenios] of Ainos, [Ignatios] of Ganos & Chora, and [Ioasaph] of [Domenikon &] Elasson
Menologema. Monokondyilion.

Text: Phougias, *Historia*, p. 239 (without signatures) and pp. 374-75 with signatures. Gritsopoulos, *Theologia*, XXIX, pp. 93-94. Both Phougias and Gritsopoulos omit Gabriel of Naupaktos & Arta.

1. See above No. 6, n 10.

2. See above No. 6, n 10.

3. The above arrangement postponed the election of a new metropolitan, hence the petition of the people of Korinth.

4. In the MS: May 1622-July 1624; Nos. 32, 33, 35, 36.

Inclusive dates: 1620-10 June 1630, elected Metropolitan of

Chalkedon; Chamoudopoulos, EA, II, 669; Codex Alpha, pp. 96-97, 262-63, 218 and below No. 52, n 3. A. Panotes (TEE, XI, 748) records Nektarios only in 1626 while Laurent (Dictionnaire, XIII, 148) lists Nektarios from 1622-8 June 1630.

5. In the MS: May 1622-18 Apr. 1626; Nos. 32, 34, 45.

Inclusive dates: May 1622-18 Apr. 1626.

33 (45, 23)

ELECTION

Ekloge

Patriarch [Kyrillos I]

May 7130 [1622], Indiction 5

Hieromonk and pneumatikos Neophytos, the ephemerios of the Great Church, is elected Metropolitan of Korinth¹ to succeed Anthimos who was deposed.²

Other candidates: Priest Christophoros and Priest Dionysios

†Parthenios of Kyzikos, †Neophytos of Nikomedia, †Ioasaph of Prousa, †Theophanes of Old Patras, †Theophanes of Athens, †Gregorios of Larissa, †Gabriel of Naupaktos & Arta, †Ignatios of Chios, †Nektarios, Archbishop of Tzia & Thermia, †Gregorios of Andros, † . . . of . . .

Menologema

Menologema in the text: January, Indiction 2.

Resume: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Vivliotheke, IV, 13. He adds Gregorios of Ainos but omits Neophytos of Nikomedia, Theophanes of Old Patras, Gregorios of Larissa, Ignatios of Chios, and Nektarios Archbishop of Tzia & Thermia.

Cited: Phoungias, Historia, 240. Partial text in Gritsopoulos, Theologia, XXIX, 94, n 3. He reads Gerasimos instead of Nektarios Archbishop of Tzia & Thermia.

1. In the MS: May 1622-July 1624; Nos. 33, 36, 39.

Inclusive dates: Elected, May 1622-July 1624, deposed. TEE, VII, 858; Janin, Dictionnaire, XIII, 878; Phoungias, Historia, 240.

2. See above No. 6.

34 (42, 21)

PROVISIONAL EXONERATION

Patriarchikon kai synodikon semeioma

Patriarch Kyrillos I

June 7130 [1622], Indiction 5

Patriarch Kyrillos and the Holy Synod grant provisional exoneration to [Arch]bishop [Ioasaph] of Zetounion¹ and Priest Paulos who had been deposed. They are permitted to return to their diocese and exercise their ecclesiastical duties until such time as peace is restored. Then the Synod will take up the matter once more and reimpose upon them their previous deposition for their disobedience to the decision of the Holy Synod.

[Arch]bishop [Ioasaph] of Zetounion and his Oikonomos Paulos the priest together with others and with the assistance of "external powers" (exo dynameis) acted in such a way as to threaten great damage to the Church. In addition, they created many difficulties and disturbances for the Synod and their venerable elder Metropolitan Gregorios of Larissa. They did all this because they refused to accept their original deposition.

†Parthenios of Kyzikos, †Theophanes of Athens, †Theophanes of Old Patras, †Gabriel of Naupaktos & Arta

Menologema

There is a second Menologema at the very bottom of the page: "July, Indiction ?" The letter is blotted out.

Text: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Vivliotheke, IV, 12

1. See above No. 14.

35 (43, 22)

ELECTION

Ekloge

Patriarch Kyrillos

June 7130 [1622], Indiction 5

Hieromonk Ioasaph is elected Metropolitan of Euripos¹ to succeed Ioasaph who died.²

Other candidates: Hieromonk Akakios and Hieromonk Symeon

†Parthenios of Kyzikos, †Theophanes of Old Patras, †Gabriel of Naupaktos & Arta, †Ignatios of Chios, †Nektarios, Archbishop of Tzia & Thermia, †Melchesedek of Raidesto, †Gregorios of Andros, †Zacharias of Prespa³

Menologema

There is a second menologema at the very bottom of the document: April, Indiction 6.

Text: Chrysostomos Themeles, “Υπομνήματα ἐκλογῶν καὶ παραιτήσεως μητροπολιτῶν Εὐρίπου,” AEKD, XI, 32. Themeles omits the name of Nektarios of Tzia & Thermia, of Gregorios of Andros, and reads Meletios for Melchesedek of Raidesto. Resume: Papadopoulos Kerameus, Vivliotheke, IV, 12. He omits the name of Nektarios also.

1. In the MS: June 1622-26 Apr. 1626; Nos. 35, 37, 41, 43, 44, 46.

Inclusive dates: Elected, June 1622-ca. Jan. 1641. On 22 July 1641, Daniel was elected and Ioasaph is cited as deposed; see texts in. Themeles, AEKD, XI, 32; Codex Alpha, p. 397. In Daniel's election document, Iezekiel of Amasia is cited as having served Euripos for a few months between the end of Ioasaph's tenure and the beginning of Daniel's. He then died.

A more precise dating can be determined by No. 64 below, dated Jan. 1641, where Iezekiel signs as Metropolitan of Euripos. Therefore, Ioasaph served from June 1622-ca. Jan. 1641; Iezekiel

from ca. Jan. 1641-?; and Daniel from 22 July 1641-Jan. 1650, deposed. See Chamoudopoulos, EA, II, 697; Sathas, 576.

Ioasaph was later forgiven. In fact he became Metropolitan of Ioannina illegally in Nov. 1643. He was deposed and expelled in Sept. 1644. See Gritsopoulos, EE, III, 450-51.

Janin (*Dictionnaire*, XV, 1423) erroneously lists Ioasaph as deposed in July 1628 and, begins Iezekiel's tenure in July 1628; cf. Vailhé (*Dictionnaire*, II, 969) where Iezekiel's tenure in Amasia does not begin until 13 Mar. 1635 when he was elected and ends in 1641 when he was transferred to Euripos. Gritsopoulos (TEE, V, 1072) follows Janin and lists Ioasaph's deposition in 1628, followed by Iezekiel with no date, except the citation of his death in July 1641. Anastasiou's (TEE, VII, 68) dates for Ioasaph as Metropolitan of Ioannina (1640-1644) are, therefore, inaccurate.

2. Inclusive dates: ?-June 1622, cited as dead; Janin, *Dictionnaire*, XV, 1423. Gritsopoulos (TEE, V, 1072) and Mystakides (*Katalogoi*, 171) do not assign any date to Ioasaph.

3. In the MS: June 1622-Dec. 1625; Nos. 35, 36, 40, 42.

Inclusive dates: Mar. 1621-July 1626, elected Metropolitan of Amasia; Chamoudopoulos, EA, II, 668; Codex Alpha, pp. 98-99; and Patrinelys, EMA, XII, 136-38, for the text of the election. But Patrinelys dates the beginning of Zacharias' tenure as Bishop of Prespa in 1622.

36 (47, 24)

PATRIARCHAL INDEBTEDNESS

Synodikos tomos

Patriarch [Kyrillos I]

July 1624, Indiction 7

The Synod of hierarchs convene to deal with various ecclesiastical matters that need correction, especially with the enormous indebtedness of the Great Church created by the "thrice-deposed and eternally anathematized Gregorios the Stravo-(Blind) Metropolitan of Amasia.¹ He disturbed the peace of the Church and caused great damage to the "community of hierarchs"

and to all Orthodox Christians. As a consequence, the Church is faced with a debt of 100 loads which must be dealt with for the sake of the well being of the Orthodox and the honor of the Christian name.

The government has already been paid the *tzoulou-sion*² and the *peskesion*. As for the remainder, a *zetia* of 50 loads is declared and exarchs have been sent out to collect from each hierarch his allotted sum. Those who are unwilling to pay either their *charatsi*, *zetia*, and *bakion* up to the feast day of Christmas are subject to deposition by the exarchs who have permission to ordain others in their places.

†Neophytos of Heraklia, †Parthenios of Kyzikos, †Neophytos of Nikomedia, †Ioasaph of Chalkedon,³ †Parthenios of Adrianople,⁴ †Paisios of Thessalonike, †Theophanes of Athens, †Theophanes of Old Patras, †Gabriel of Naupaktos & Arta, †Ioasaph of Lakodaimonia, †Anthimos of Didymoteichon, †Ignatios of Chios, †Christophoros of Anchialos,⁵ †Akakios of Mesembria, †Parthenios of Varna, †Theodosios of Media & Sozopolis,⁶ †Ioakeim of Imvros,⁷ †Klemes of Prokonisos, †Euthymios of Phanarion, [†Nektarios] Archbishop of Tzia & Thermia, †Hieremias of Paronaxia, †Metrophanes of Agathoupolis, †Zacharias of Prespa

Because the hierarchs will be leaving for their respective sees, permission is given by them to the Ecumenical Patriarch to punish the disobedient by deposing them.

Text: Legrand, *Bibliographie*, IV, 345-47; Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta*, IV, 95-97. Cited: *idem*. *Vivliotheke*, IV, 13. Legrand reads Athanasios instead of Paisios of Thessalonike, Ignatios of Ainos instead of Ignatios of Chios, and Gabriel of Ganos & Chora instead of Gabriel of Naupaktos & Arta.

1. See above No. 8.

2. A tax which I have been unable to trace.

3. In the MS: July 1624-Mar. 1626; Nos. 36, 37, 41, 43.

Inclusive dates: Elected, May 1623-May 1625, deposed. Aram-patzoglou (*Orthodoxia*, XIX, 74-75) erred in listing Ioasaph's

deposition in Mar. 1626. He knows No. 43 below (Mar. 1626) but overlooked No. 41 which records Ioasaph's deposition in May 1625. He was followed in his error by Janin (*Dictionnaire*, XII, 255) and by Stavrides (*TEE*, XII, 54) while Alexoudes (*Leukoma*, 110) lists him only in 1624.

4. In the MS: July 1624-7 July 1639; Nos. 36, 51, 52, 56, 59, 60.

Inclusive dates: Elected, 19 June 1623-1 July 1639, elected Patriarch of Constantinople; see below No. 59.

Parthenios was Metropolitan of Anchialos when elected Metropolitan of Adrianople. Germanos, VI, 41; Gritsopoulos, *TEE*, I, 459; Alexoudes (*Leukoma*, 184) lists Parthenios from 1623-1638; Sathas, p. 563.

5. In the MS: July 1624; Nos. 36, 37.

Inclusive dates: Elected, June 1623-27 June 1628, elected Metropolitan of Philippoupolis; see below No. 51; Sathas, 566; Germanos, VIII, 121; Gritsopoulos (*TEE*, I, 337) has 1622-1627; Vailhé, *Dictionnaire*, II, 1513; Mystakides (*Katalogoi*, 151) records his election to Philippoupolis in July 1628.

6. In the MS: July 1624-July 1641; Nos. 36, 65, 66.

Inclusive dates: Elected, Aug. 1623-29 Oct. 1636, resigned. Theodosios succeeded Kallinikos of Sozopolis (resigned before Aug. 1623) and Arsenios of Media (resigned June 1623). The sees were joined in Aug. 1623.

In 1628, however, the sees were separated but Theodosios retained Media and was succeeded in Sozopolis by Klemes. See Germanos, VI, 99 and VIII, 171; Chamoudopoulos, *EA*, II, 668; *Codex Alpha*, pp. 130, 295. Manouel Gedeon (*EA*, III, 420) notes that the two sees were separated (once more?) on 23 Mar. 1648.

7. Inclusive dates: unknown. See A. Zapheiriadou, *Thrakika*, XLV(1971), 284.

DEPOSITION

Kathairesis

Patriarch Kyrillos I

July 7132 [1624], Indiction 7

The Patriarch and members of the Holy Synod announce to the officials, clergy, archons, and to "all of Christ's people" in the metropolis of Korinth the deposition and unfrocking of Metropolitan Neophytos of Korinth.¹ This is done in accordance with the provisions of the synodical tomos.²

Neophytos had refused to pay the *charatsia*, the *zetia*, and *bakia*³ to the patriarchal exarchs: Metropolitan [Christophoros] of Anchialos (then an archimandrites), Archimandrites Anthimos, and the patriarchal *epitropos* (deputy), Bishop Parthenios of Kernitza.⁴ Because of this they suspended Metropolitan Neophytos. He ignored the suspension and traveled to the island of Zakynthos where he ordained a bishop and refused to respond to the order sent to his *synkelos*, priest Isaak, to come to Constantinople and answer for his actions. Consequently, he was reduced to the rank of monk.

†Neophytos of Heraklia, †Parthenios of Kyzikos, †Neophytos of Nikomedia, †Ioasaph of Chalkedon, †Theophanes of Old Patras, †Paisios of Thessalonike, †Gabriel of Naupaktos & Arta, †Ioasaph of Lakadaimonia, †Klemes of Proikonesos, †Daniel, formerly of Ainos, †Ioannikios of Ganos & Chora,⁵ †Ignatios of Chios, †Hieremias of Paronaxia, †Grand Logothetes [George]⁶ who signs for Patriarch [Theophanes III] of Jerusalem and Metropolitan [Theophanes] of Athens, [Ioasaph] of Prousa, [Ioasaph] of Euripos, and [Ioasaph] of [Domenikon] & Elasson, †Grand Rhetor [Michael] who signs for [Gabriel] of Ephesos, [Gabriel] of Tornovo, [Ioasaph] of Philippoupolis, [Gregorios] of Larissa, [Konstantios] of Mitylene, [Kallinikos] of Methymna, and [. . .] of Lemnos

Text: Legrand, *Bibliographie*, IV, 347-48. Legrand reads Athanasios instead of Paisios of Thessalonike and omits the name of Ioannikios of Ganos & Chora. Partial text in Gritsopoulos, *Korinthos*, p. 238. Cited: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Vivliotheke*, IV, 13.

1. See above No. 21.

2. See Vaporis, *Codex Gamma*, No. 18, n 2.

3. Or *vakia*, that is, monies overdue from the *zetia*; see V.K. Stephanides, "Τὸ χρέος τοῦ Κοινοῦ," *Ὁ Νέος Παιμὴν*, I (1919), 217-18.

4. Inclusive dates: 1610-7 Jan. 1639, elected Metropolitan of Old Patras; Gedeon, *Ephemerides*, 81, 101. See below No. 59, n 10.

5. Inclusive dates: Elected, Apr. 1624-ca. Sept. 1636, elected Metropolitan of Heraklia. See below No. 59, n 6. For Ioannikios' confession of faith and election certificate, see *Codex Alpha*, pp. 147, 149.

Germanos (VI, 59) inadvertantly recorded 7 Aug. 1637 as the date of Ioannikios' election to Heraklia; later (*ibid.* 75) he corrects this on the basis of a document published by Aram-patzoglou Photieios, I, 161. Sathas, 571. Patrinoles (TEE, IV, 231) lists Ioannikios from 1624-1626. Ioannikios served Heraklia until 16 Nov. 1646 when he became Patriarch of Constantinople.

6. See above No. 6, n 16.

7. Inclusive dates: Apr. 1624-May 1626; *Codex Alpha*, pp. 147, 168. Gritsopoulos (TEE, VIII, 1108) and Ateses (II, 120) record Kallinikos only in 1624.

38 (51, 26)

ELECTION

Ekloge

[Patriarch Kyrillos I]

September 7133 [1624], Indiction 8

Protosynkelos of the Great Church Daniel¹ is elected Metropolitan of Korinth to succeed Neophytos who was deposed.²

Other candidates: Hieromonk and pneumatikos Pa-

chomios and Hieromonk Akakios the Patriarchal Protosynkelos

†Theophanes of Old Patras, †Ioasaph of Lakedaimonia, †Hieremias of Paronaxia, †Klemes of Proikonesos

Resume: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Vivliotheke*, IV, 13; Cited: Athenagoras, *EEBS*, IX (1932), 253. He dates the election 1625. Gritsopoulos, *Korinthos*, p. 238.

1. In the MS: Sept. 1624-26 Apr. 1626; Nos. 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 45, 46.

Inclusive dates: Elected, Sept. 1624-18 July 1628, elected Metropolitan of Serres; Sathas, 566. See, too, below No. 48 and *Codex Alpha*, p. 194; Gritsopoulos, *Korinthos*, p. 242. Janin (*Dictionnaire*, XIII, 878) lists Daniel to 18 Apr. 1628; Konstantinides (*TEE*, VII, 858) lists him to Apr. 1628, while Athenagoras (*EEBS*, IX, 253) lists his election on 17 instead of 18 July. Phougias, *Historia*, 240; Ateses, I, 468; and Gritsopoulos, *Korinthos*, 238.

2. See above No. 33.

39 (52, 26)

CONFESSION OF FAITH

Homologia pisteos

[Patriarch Kyrillos I]

[September 1624, Indiction 8]¹

The confession of faith of Daniel, Metropolitan elect of Korinth.

†Daniel, by the grace of God, candidate for the office of Metropolitan of Korinth²

Menologema

Menologema in the text: September, Indiction 9. Cited: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Vivliotheke*, IV, 13.

1. Date derived from election in September 1624. See below No. 39.

2. See above No. 38.

40 (90, 45b)

ELECTION

Ekloge

Patriarch Kyrillos I

January 7133 [1625], Indiction 8

Protosynkelos of the Great Church Averkios is elected Metropolitan of Philippi & Drama¹ to succeed Klemes who died.²

Other candidates: Hieromonk and pneumatikos Akakios and Priest Pachomios

†Neophytos of Nikomedia, †Daniel of Korinth, †Theophanes of Old Patras, †Konstantios of Mitylene, †Klemes of Proikonesos, †Dionysios of Elos,³ Zacharias of Prespa, Archbishop Sisoës of Kassandria⁴
Menologema

Menologema in the text: March, Indiction 8. Year is partially blotted out by **menologema**.

Resume: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Vivliotheke*, IV, 19. He omits Klemes of Philippi & Drama plus all the signatories. Cited: Athenagoras, *EEBS*, IX (1932), 253. He dates the election 1636.

1. Inclusive dates: Elected, Jan. 1625-before Mar. 1636, cited as dead in June 1636. See below No. 52 where his successor Theokletos is attested and *Codex Alpha*, p. 289 where he is recorded as dead. Sathas, p. 571; Ateses, I, 148.

Papaevangelos (*TEE*, XI, 1109) cites Averkios in 1625, followed by Ioasaph and Meletios in 1627. Then Averkios in 1636 without indicating whether the latter is the same Averkios as in 1625. Papaevangelos, however, was misled by Chamoudopoulos who read Meletios of Philippi & Drama instead of Philippoupolis. Consequently, Meletios should be eliminated from the list of Philippi & Drama. See above No. 26, n 3. It is likely that Ioasaph is a misreading as well.

2. See above No. 21.

3. In the MS: Jan.-Dec. 1625; Nos. 40, 42.

Inclusive dates: unknown. Gritsopoulos (TEE, V, 663) lists Ioasaph in 1590, followed by Dionysios in 1625 and another Dionysios in 1640.

4. Inclusive dates: 1609-Jan. 1625; Codex Alpha, p.348. Janin (Dictionnaire, XI, 1306) lists Damaskenos in Dec. 1607, followed by Ionas in May 1611, and Sisoës in 1622 and 1624; Gritsopoulos (TEE, VI, 392) lists Damaskenos and Ionas, followed by Sisoës in 1622, while Ateses (II, 450) follows Janin. However, Papadopoulos-Kerameus (Katalogoi, 99) lists Sisoës in May 1611.

I believe the order should probably be as follows: Damaskenos, elected Dec. 1607-1609; Sisoës, 1609-Jan. 1625.

41 (91, 46)

DEPOSITION AND UNFROCKING

Patriarch Kyrillos I

May 7133 [1625], Indiction 8

Metropolitan Ioasaph of Chalkedon¹ who joined the "thrice-cursed and anathematized blind [Metropolitan] of Amasia"² is deposed and unfrocked for causing great damage to the Great Church.

†Neophytos of Heraklia, †Makarios of . . . , †Theophanes of Old Patras and Epitropos of the Synod,³ †Metrophanes of Thebes,⁴ †Daniel of Korinth, †Ioasaph of Euripos, †Klimes (formerly) of Proikonesos, †Melchisedek of Raidesto & Panion
Monokondylion. Menologema.

Resume: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Vivliotheke, IV, 19. He omits Makarios of . . .

1. See above No. 36.

2. See above No. 8.

3. See above No. 6.

4. In the MS: May 1625-26 Apr. 1626; Nos. 41, 43, 44, 46.

Inclusive dates: 1621-22 Mar. 1626, resigned; 24 Mar. 1626-

25 June 1628. For initial date, see Ateses, I, 430 and A.D. Komines, " 'Ανέκδοτος Ἐπισκοπικὸς Κατάλογος Θηβῶν," Ἐπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Στρωμαλαδικῶν Μελετῶν, I (1968), p. 94 Ateses records Metrophanes from 1621-1625, while Komines extends his tenure to 1626.

In Codex Alpha, p. 175, dated 22 Mar. 1626, Metrophanes is cited as having resigned and Daniel, formerly of Oreon, was elected in his place on 22 Mar. 1626. However, Metrophanes continued to sign as Metropolitan of Thebes: on 24 Mar. 1626 he signed the election certificate of Gregorios of Chalkedon (below No. 43); the election certificate of Makarios of Tornovo on 18 Apr. 1626 (below No. 44); and of Achilleios of Serres on 26 Apr. 1626 (below No. 46). Moreover, in May 1628 Metrophanes also signed the election certificate of Nikodemos of Kephallenia (Codex Alpha, p. 185), as well as the deposition of Meletios of Philip-poupolis which took place on 25 June 1628 (ibid., p. 192).

Metrophanes' signature in all the above documents, except that of May 1628 which was written by a scribe, is very clear and quite distinctive and is not accompanied by any qualification as former metropolitan. I am inclined to believe that Daniel's election was either nullified or that he resigned almost immediately after it took place.

Daniel is attested by Mystakides (Katalogoi, p. 177) in Mar. 1626, by Konidares (TCE, III, 1057) in 1625, by Konstantinides (TEE, VI, 1166) in the same year, by Komines Ἐπετηρίς, I, p. 94) in 1626 and in 1627 as former, and by Ateses (I, 430) from "1625-1627 resigned or deposed." For his dating Ateses depends on Komines who bases his on Chrysostomos Themeles, " Ἡ Ἐπισκοπὴ Ὁρεῶν," Θεολογία XXIII, (1952), pp. 611, 617. He in turn relies on Sathas (pp. 564, 566) and Tsevas, " Ἐπισκοπικὸς Κατάλογος Θηβῶν," EEBS, XIII (1937), p. 399.

42 (89, 45)

ELECTION

Ekloge

Patriarch Kyrillos I

December 7134 [1625, Indiction 9]

Hieromonk Pachomios is elected Metropolitan of Rhodes¹ to succeed Philotheos who died.²

Other candidates: Ephemerios Maximos the priest
and Grand Protosynkelos Gregorios the priest

†Neophytos of Nikomedia, †Daniel of Korinth,
†Metrophanes of Monemvasia, †Theophanes of Old
Patras, †Konstantios of Mitylene, †Klemes of Proi-
konesos, †Dionysios of Elos, †Zacharias of Prespa

The document is dated Indiction 8. There are also the beginnings of two other *menologemata* scribbled at the bottom of the page. Resume: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Vivliotheke*, IV, 19.

1. Inclusive dates: Elected, Dec. 1625-14 Aug. 1637 when his successor, Meletios, was elected and he is cited as deposed. Sathas, p. 572; Chamoudopoulos, *EA*, II, 695; *Codex Alpha*, p. 317.

Konstantinides (*TEE*, X, 820) who follows Evangelides ("Ἡ Ἐκκλησία Ρόδου," *EEBS*, VI (1929), 169) dates Pachomios from 1612-1637 and like him lists Ignatios as Pachomios' predecessor instead of Philotheos. According to Evangelides (*ibid.*) Pachomios studied with the Jesuits in Constantinople and served as **Proedros** of Leros in 1643. Later he traveled to Italy where he served the Greek community in Livorno. Also see Gedeon, *Ephemerides*, p. 105.

2. Inclusive dates: Elected, 24 Mar. 1604-Dec. 1625, cited as dead. Philotheos' election is attested by Sathas (p. 552) and Gedeon (*Ephemerides*, pp. 77-78), and from May-July 1616 in *Codex Alpha*, pp. 74, 82, 83, 87, 495. An Ignatios is listed by Evangelides from 1610-1612 but without any references.

43 (92, 46b)

ELECTION

Patriarch Kyrillos I

24 March 7134 [1626], Indiction 9

Grand Protosynkelos of the Great Church Gregorios, the most learned hieromonk and pneumatikos, is elected Metropolitan of Chalkedon¹ to succeed Ioasaph who had illegally seized the metropolis and was deposed.²

Other candidates: The most-learned Hieromonk Kyrrillos who serves the church of Kasteliotissa and Bishop Theodosios of Golgotha³

†Confirmed by: Patriarch [Kyrillos] of Constantinople

†Theophanes of Old Patras, †Daniel of Korinth, †Ioasaph of Euripos, †Klimes of Proikonesos, †Melchesedek of Raidesto & Panion, †Metrophanes of Thebes

Document erroneously dated Indiction 8. There are two additional patriarchal confirmations in the middle of the signatures of the metropolitans. Scribe practicing?

Resume: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Vivliotheke*, IV, 19. He erroneously dates the document May 1625. Cited: Athenagoras, *EEBS*, IX (1932), 253; Arampatzoglou, *Orthodoxia*, XIX, 75.

1. Inclusive dates: Elected, 24 Mar. 1626-before Apr. 1628 when Isaak is cited; see *Codex Alpha*, p. 182.

Alexoudes (*Leukoma*, p. 110) lists Gregorios from 1626-1630; Janin (*Dictionnaire*, XII, 275) only in Mar. 1626, as does Arampatzoglou (*Orthodoxia*, XIX, 75); and Stavrides (*TEE*, XII, 54).

2. See above No. 36.

3. Inclusive dates: Unknown.

44 (54, 27b)

ELECTION

Ekloge

Patriarch Kyrillos I

18 April 7134 [1626], Indiction 9

Archdeacon of the Great Church Makarios is elected Metropolitan of Tornovo¹ to succeed Gabriel who died.²

Other candidates: Protosynkelos of the Great Church Gregorios and Protosynkelos Laurentios

†Theophanes of Old Patras, †Klimes of Proikonesos,
†Daniel of Korinth, †Ioasaph of Euripos, †Neophytos
of New Patras,³ †Melchesedek of Raidesto & Panion,
†Daniel of Gangra, †Metrophanes of Thebes
Menologema

Menologema in the text: May, Indiction 3. The document is also dated Indiction 8.

Resume: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Vivliotheke*, IV, 13. He omits Daniel's see of Gangra.

1. In the MS: 18 Apr. 1626-7 July 1639; Nos. 44, 45, 46, 51, 58, 59, 60, 61, 68.

Inclusive dates: Elected, 18 Apr. 1626-23 Aug. 1646 when Dionysios was elected and he is cited as dead. Germanos (VIII, 179) believes that Makarios was expelled by Patriarch Kyrillos II sometime after Mar. 1635 and probably returned after the middle of June 1636 when Kyrillos II was deposed. Sathas, p. 579; Alexoudes (*Leukoma*, p. 183) lists him from 1637-1646.

2. See above No. 6.

3. In the MS: 18 Apr.-26 Apr. 1626; Nos. 45, 46.

Inclusive dates: 18 Apr. 1626-22 Apr. 1639 when Ioasaph was elected and he is cited as resigned. See *Codex Alpha*, p. 347; Chamoudopoulos, *EA*, II, 696; Sathas, p. 656.

45 (55, 28)

CONFESSION OF FAITH

Patriarch Kyrillos I
[April 1626]¹

The confession of faith of Makarios, Metropolitan elect of the Metropolis of Tornovo.

†Makarios, by the grace of God, candidate for the Metropolis of Tornovo²

Cited: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Vivliotheke*, IV, 14.

1. Date based on Makarios' election certificate, see above No. 44.

2. See above No. 44.

46 (56, 28b)

ELECTION

Ekloge

Patriarch Kyrillos I

26 April 7134 [1626], Indiction 9

Hieromonk and pneumatikos Achilleios the Protosynkelos of Old Patras is elected Metropolitan of Serres¹ to succeed Timotheos who died.²

Other candidates: Prohegoumenos of the Great Spelaion Dositheos³ and Protosynkelos of the Great Church Iezekiel

†Makarios of Tornovo, †Theophanes of Old Patras, †Daniel of Korinth, †Ioasaph of Euripos, †Neophytos of New Patras, †Klemes of Proikonesos, †Metrophanes of Thebes

Menologema

There is a second menologema: July, Indiction 6 in the text. In addition, a later hand added the prayer: Hagios ho Theos (Holy God, Holy Strong, Holy Immortal, have mercy upon us).

Resume: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Vivliotheke*, IV, 4.

1. Inclusive dates: Elected, 26 Apr. 1626-18 July 1628, cited as dead; Sathas, p. 566; *Codex Alpha*, p. 194. Stogoglou (*TEE*, XI, 117) and Pennas (*Historia*, p. 459) begin Achilleios' tenure in 1625, probably based on Lampros, *DIEE*, II, 647 and Gedeon, *Ephemerides*, p. 139.

2. See above No. 6 n 13.

47 (82, 41)

EXCOMMUNICATION

Synodikon gramma

Patriarch Kyrillos I

[April 1634, Indiction 2]

First part of text appears here, full text below in No. 48 from where date is derived.

Text: first part in Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Vivliotheke*, IV, 17-18.

48 (99-100, 50)

EXCOMMUNICATION

Synodikon gramma

Patriarch Kyrillos I

April 1634, Indiction 2

Athanasios Patelarios,¹ the so-called patriarch, who illegally and contrary to the canons seized the office, his unscrupulous nephew the Evil-Neophytos, and the raging George Spanos the furrier, having previously been deposed, are now excommunicated and anathematized as are all those who have anything to do with them.

It is known to all pious Christians that the Church of Christ has often been disturbed and damaged by unruly individuals who have imposed great debts upon her, causing "our All-Holy and Most-Wise Lord (authentēs) and Master (despotes) the Ecumenical Patriarch" [Kyrillos I] and our fellow hierarchs many difficulties. Hence, the hierarchs gathered together to deal with the debt of the Church. In the meantime, there occurred in autumn that great scandal, known to all. But again—

with God's help and at a great expense—matters were settled peacefully and the affairs of the Church began to progress and improve.

Just then, Athanasios Patelarios appeared—without any cause—urged on by the devil and assisted by his thrice-cursed nephew Neophytos the hieromonk, by God-cursed George Spanos the furrier, and others. They illegally and with force seized the Patriarchate, added sixty loads to its indebtedness and caused the Church of Christ great harm.

†Meletios of Ephesos,² †Neophytos of Heraklia,
†Gregorios of Larissa, †Daniel of Serres³
Menologema

Menologema in the text: August, Indiction 7 repeated twice and July, Indiction 6, written upside down.

Text: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Vivliotheke*, IV, 17-18 with the end portion missing and no signatories. Cited: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *ibid.*, p. 20. He omits the month and signatories.

1. Inclusive dates: 6 Mar. 1634-2 Apr. 1634; 23 May 1652-20/29 June 1652; Mertzios, *Mnemeia*, pp. 183, 505-06; Germanos, *Orthodoxia*, XI (1937), 517-22.

Athanasios III Patelarios or Patelaros was Metropolitan of Thessalonike when he "forced himself" upon the patriarchal throne. He served Thessalonike as metropolitan from 1630/beg. 1631-6 Mar. 1634. He returned as proedros: Aug. 1637-before June 1638, expelled by Kyrillos II and again in Aug. 1639-16 July 1643.

Some authorities have erroneously dated the tenure of Paisios, Athanasios' predecessor (see above No. 1, n 2); they do the same with Athanasios' initial date, uniformly dating it in 1622. For the initial date, see Petit, *Echos d' Orient*, V, 155. The dates, therefore, in Alexoudes (*Leukoma*, 183), Konidares (*TCE*, III, 1045), Tzogas (*TEE*, VI, 461), and Ateses (I, 424) should be revised.

Athanasios was succeeded at Thessalonike by Damaskenos on 16 Mar. 1634. He served until 27 Jan. 1636 when Kallinikos was elected and Damaskenos is cited as deposed; see *Codex Alpha*, pp. 265, 285 and *Sathas*, pp. 570, 571. Kallinikos' tenure must

have been extremely brief, for Damaskenos is cited in Sept. 1636 (Codex Alpha, p. 243). He was followed by Athanasios on Aug. 1637. The latter was expelled before June 1638 because on that date Damaskenos is cited once more (Codex Alpha, p. 333).

Damaskenos may have continued until Aug. 1639 when former Patriarch Athanasios was elected **Proedros** of Thessalonike for a second time. Yet Damaskenos is cited as metropolitan on 24 June 1640 even though Athanasios was still **proedros** on 16 July 1643. On the latter date Damaskenos was appointed **Proedros** of Kassandria in exchange for the promise that he would not interfere with Athanasios again. This would indicate that Damaskenos continued to contest the see with Athanasios, but this does not explain his signature on a patriarchal document as Metropolitan of Thessalonike while Athanasios was **proedros** of the same see.

As far as I can determine the order of hierarchs could be as follows: Athanasios 1630/beginning 1631-6 Mar. 1634, Damaskenos 16 Mar. 1634-27 Jan. 1636, Kallinikos 27 Jan. 1636-ca. Sept. 1636, Damaskenos Sept. 1636-ca. Aug. 1637, Athanasios Aug. 1637-before June 1638, Damaskenos June 1638-ca. Aug. 1639, Athanasios Aug. 1639-16 July 1643.

Patriarch Athanasios III was born in Rethymnon, Crete where he became a monk in the monastery of St. Catherine, receiving a rather good education. Elected Metropolitan of Thessalonike at the end of 1630 or beginning of 1631, he served until 6 Mar. 1634 when he used the good offices of the Bostanci Pasha of the Ottoman Porte and forced his way on to the patriarchal throne. Although formally installed as patriarch, Athanasios' reception from his fellow hierarchs was cool and he was expelled after only twenty-seven days as patriarch; see Mertzios, *Mnemeia*, p. 506.

Following his expulsion, Athanasios traveled to Italy where he had hoped to gain the support of the Papacy for his return and the ouster of Patriarch Kyrillos I whom he considered a Calvinist. He was unsuccessful. Later he went to Mount Athos for a short time and then back to Constantinople.

Once in the city, he tried to unseat Patriarch Kyrillos II who had replaced Kyrillos I, but did not succeed. Even when appointed **Proedros** of Thessalonike he continued to intrigue for his return to the patriarchate. Finally with the support of Voevode Basil of Moldavia, he succeeded in expelling Kyrillos III and became patriarch on 23 May 1652. Again it was a short tenure, lasting to 20/29 June 1652.

Following this final expulsion, Athanasios returned to Jassy Moldavia from where he visited Russia and gained an audience with Tsar Alexii on 25 April 1653. He died less than a year later and was buried in the monastery of Lubny in the Ukraine on 5 April 1654. Germanos, *Orthodoxia*, XII (1937), 518-19; Gritsopoulos, *TEE*, I, 518-22; Mertzios, *Mnemeia*, pp. 505-11.

Much of Patriarch Athanasios' problems stemmed from the fact that he was a Latinophil and even signed a confession of faith, making his submission to the Papacy. See documents in Georg Hofmann, "Patriarch Athanasios Patellaros seine stellung zur Römischen Kirche," *Orientalia Christiana*, XIX (1930), 205-80; Mertzios, *Patriarchika*, p. 77.

2. In the MS: Apr. 1634-7 July 1639; Nos. 48, 49, 59, 60, 61.

Inclusive dates: Elected, Apr. 1632-16 Feb. 1642, deposed; Sathas, p. 574; Chamoudopoulos, *EA*, II, 696. On May 1639, Meletios was deposed and Anthimos was elected to succeed him. But Anthimos' election was annulled and Meletios was restored. See Sathas, p. 576; *Codex Alpha*, pp. 264, 351; Alexoudes, *Leukoma*, p. 108; and Janin, *Dictionnaire*, XV, 559.

3. In the MS: Apr. 1634-Dec. 1646; Nos. 48, 49, 51, 58, 60, 61, 68.

Inclusive dates: Elected, 18 July 1628-1651, died; Sathas, pp. 566, 585; Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Vivliotheke*, IV, 502; *Codex Alpha*, p. 194; Stogoglou, *TEE*, XI, 117. Pennas (*Historia*, pp. 460-61) ends Daniel's tenure in 1650. Daniel had served as Metropolitan of Korinth (Sept. 1624-18 Apr. 1628); Gritsopoulos, *Korinthos*, p. 238.

As Metropolitan of Serres, Daniel was expelled by Kyrillos II sometime between 20 June 1638 and the end of June 1639. He returned shortly after the election of Patriarch Parthenios I on 1 July 1639; Athenagoras, *EEBS*, IX, 253. See above No. 38.

49 (101-02, 51)

ENCYCLICAL LETTER

**Synodikon gramma
Patriarch Kyrillos I
April 1634, Indiction 2**

A letter "to be read from the pulpit."

Athanasios Patelarios, his nephew Evil-Neophytos, and "Crazy-George Spanos" the furrier had seized the patriarchal throne by "robbery and illegal action." Hence all those who assist them in any way are anathematized; those who do not are blessed.¹

†Meletios of Ephesos, †Neophytos of Heraklia, †Gregorios of Larissa, †Daniel of Serres
Menologema

Some scribe used the lower part of the document to practice making whirls and horizontal lines.

Cited: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Vivliotheke*, IV, 20. He omits the month and signatories.

1. See above No. 48.

50 (83b, 42)

PATRIARCHAL DECLARATION

**Patriarchikon gramma
Patriarch Kyrillos II
May 1635, Indiction 3**

Patriarch Kyrillos II, from Verroia, declares and swears to his fellow hierarchs that he will contribute to the peace of the Church and assist to pay off her indebtedness. If he does not, he shall be worthy of any synodical punishment.

†Kyrillos from Verroia, Patriarch of Constantinople

Only end portion of the document has been preserved.

Text: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Vivliotheke*, IV, 18.

1. See above No. 10.

51 (83b-86, 40-43)

APPOINTMENT OF A FINANCIAL COMMITTEE

[Synodike praxis]

Patriarch Kyrillos II

May 1635, Indiction 3

A financial committee is appointed by Patriarch Kyrillos II and a synod of all the hierarchs present at the Patriarchate to give a solution to the great indebtedness weighing heavily upon the Great Church.¹ The members of the Holy Synod decry a situation which has witnessed hierarchs led away as prisoners, provinces in ruins, dioceses abandoned, and "the Lord's people" hunted from place to place by money lenders.

The Synod, therefore, approves and enacts the following "eight measures."

1) The financial committee is to be composed of four or five hierarchs, elected by the Holy Synod from among the entire body of hierarchs of the Church, and three officials from among all holders of *offikia*. That is, seven members in all. The hierarchal members of the committee are to act for the entire Synod, while the officials are to assist them. The committee is to have complete control over all the revenues of the Great Church: alms (*eleemosyne*), *zetia*, inheritances, ordination gifts, fees from *stavropegion* monasteries, fees from *exarchates*, *emvatikia*, *bakia*, etc. The only monies exempted are fees derived from patriarchal letters which will go to the Patriarch for his personal maintenance.

No receipt will be acknowledged as valid that does not bear the signatures of the members of the financial committee.

2) No hierarch or clergyman or official has permission

to interfere with or disturb the general order or to depose anyone except the Patriarch in consultation with other hierarchs and the four governing (dioiketai) hierarchs. If the four governing hierarchs do not consent and sign no punishment is valid.

3) No election of any metropolitan or archbishop may be made without the concurrence of the four hierarchs of the committee.

4) No exarch or representative of any kind may be sent to the provinces to collect any church related money without the permission and introductory letters of the hierarchs of the committee.

5) Officials may not transfer their office to another person without exercising sound judgment and without good reason.

6) The committee is to investigate the situation at the Patriarchate and determine whether or not there are too many people there for its actual needs.

7) The committee will serve for one year only. Each member will receive compensation according to his labor, expenses, and diligence. At the end of the year, another committee will be elected by the Holy Synod. The outgoing committee will then render an accounting to the new committee. In the event of a vacancy on the committee due to death, the other members of the committee will elect a replacement.

†Neophytos of Heraklia, †Anthimos of Kyzikos,² Neophytos of Nikomedia, †Parthenios of Adrianople, †Porphyrios of Nikaia, Makarios of Tornovo, †Gregorios of Larissa, †Daniel of Serres, †Parthenios of Ioannina,³ †Christophoros of Philippoupolis⁴

Monokondylion. Menologema

There is an additional menologema in the text: July, Indiction 6. Text: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Vivliotheke*, IV, 471-77; *Delikanes*, III, 321-25. Resume: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Vivliotheke*, IV, 18. He omits Parthenios of Adrianople.

1. On the subject of the financial indebtedness of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, see V. K. Stephanides, "Τὸ χρέος τοῦ Κοινοῦ," *Ὁ Νέος Ποιμήν*, I (1919), 209-26, 289-306 and Vaporis, *Codex Gamma*, No. 18, n 2.

2. In the MS: May 1635-Dec. 1646; Nos. 51, 52, 53, 55, 59, 60, 61, 68.

Inclusive dates: Elected, 14 Nov. 1633-Apr. 1653; Chamoudopoulos, EA, II, 669, Sathas, p. 570, Codex Alpha, p. 257. Janin (*Dictionnaire*, XIII, 1195) lists Anthimos' election on 19 instead of 14 Nov.

3. In the MS: May 1635-7 July 1639: Nos. 51, 58, 59, 60, 61.

Inclusive dates: Elected, July 1632-7 July 1639, elected Metropolitan of Adrianople which he served until 8 Sept. 1644 when he was elected Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople. See below No. 60; Germanos, ECH, XII, 67; Sathas, p. 569; Ateses, I, 441.

Parthenios was expelled from his see by Kyrillos II during the latter's third term: 20 June 1638-end June 1639. But Parthenios returned after Kyrillos' deposition and was promoted to the see of Adrianople; see below Nos. 58 and 59. Ateses (I, 126, 152; II, 152) lists Parthenios' dates correctly but he believes Parthenios had served as Metropolitan of Naupaktos & Arta in 1632. But all the authorities are in accord that it was Gabriel who served the latter see from 1601-1633. See Germanos, ECH, XII, 13 and Christopoulos; TEE, IX, 328. In Codex Alpha, he is recorded from Mar. 1606 (p. 23)-8 June 1633 (p. 247) when he is cited as dead and his successor Laurentios is elected.

4. Inclusive dates: Elected, 27 June 1628-Dec. 1636 when Gabriel was elected and he is cited as dead; see Chamoudopoulos, EA, II, 670; Sathas, p. 566; Codex Alpha, p. 279; Germanos, VII, 184. Christophoros was Metropolitan of Anchialos when elected; Gritsopoulos, Archeion, XIX, 269-70.

52 (93, 47)

DEPOSITION AND UNFROCKING

Synodike apophasis

Patriarch Kyrillos II

[1/5] March 1636, Indiction 4

Archbishop Ioasaph of [Domenikon &] Ellasson¹ is deposed and unfrocked for failure to pay his zetia, for being tyranical, for threatening the life of Metropolitan Ioasaph of Lakedaimonia, and for performing an illegal marriage for 50 grosia within the ecclesiastical boundaries of the province of Lakedaimonia.

†Hieremias of Heraklia,² †Anthimos of Kyzikos,
 †Nektarios of Chalkedon,³ †Parthenios of Adrianople,
 †Laurentios of Naupaktos,⁴ †Theokletos of Philippi &
 Drama,⁵ †Ioasaph of Lakedaimonia, †Daniel of Didy-
 moteichon,⁶ †Kyrillos of Chios,⁷ †Hierotheos of Metra
 & Athyra,⁸ †Ioasaph of Melos,⁹ †Iakovos of Smyrna¹⁰
Menologema

Cited: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Vivliotheke*, IV, 20. He omits signatures and notes only the month and year. The date, 1/5 Mar. is based on the election of Ioasaph's successor, Kallistos, on 6 Mar. 1636. See below No. 53.

1: See above No. 26.

2. In the MS: 1/5 Mar.-May/June 1636; Nos. 52, 55, 56.

Inclusive dates: May/Sept. 1635-May/June 1636, deposed. Germanos, VI, 75; Konstantinides, TEE, VI, 61; Konidares, TCE, III, 842; Kourilas, *Thrakika*, XXVIII (19-58), 75-76; Stamoules, *Thrakika*, XIV (1940), 118. Sathas (p. 571) records Hieremias after June 1636.

Later, ca. July 1639, Hieremias was elected Metropolitan of Proikonesos (Sathas, p. 575; Chamoudopoulos, EA, II, 696; *Codex Alpha*, p. 363) and was deposed before 10 Mar. 1660 when a Gerasimos is attested in that see. See *Codex Alpha*, p. 425. Gedeon, *Proikonesos*, p. 207, lists Hieremias as Metropolitan of Proikonesos until Aug. 1660, while Gritsopoulos (TEE, X, 613) has no date for Gerasimos.

3. In the MS: Mar.-after Apr. 1636; Nos. 52, 53, 56.

Inclusive dates: Elected, 10 June 1630-before Feb. 1637 when his successor Pachomios was elevated and he is cited as dead. *Codex Alpha*, p. 301; Chamoudopoulos, EA, II, 670; Aram-patzoglou, *Orthodoxia*, IX, 75; Alexoudes, *Leukoma*, p. 110.

Nektarios was Archbishop of Tzia & Thermia when elected to Chalkedon. See above No. 32.

4. In the MS: 1/5 Mar. 1636-May/June 1636; Nos. 52, 53, 55, 56.

Inclusive dates: Elected, 8 June 1633-July 1637 when Akakios, Bishop of Vonditza, was elected and he is cited as resigned; Sathas, p. 569, 572; Germanos, ECH, XII, 13; Chamoudopoulos, EA, II, 695; *Codex Alpha*, pp. 249, 313; Ateses, II, 152. Christopoulos

(TEE, IX, 328) ends Laurentios' tenure in 1636. Laurentios was Metropolitan of Didymoteichon when elected to Naupaktos: 15 July 1631-8 June 1633.-

5. In the MS: 1/5 Mar. 1636-7 July 1639; Nos. 52, 61.

Inclusive dates: 1/5 Mar. 1636-Jan. 1640, when Gerasimos was elected and he is cited as dead; Chamoudopoulos, EA, II, 697; Codex Alpha, p. 377. Papaevangelos (TEE, XI, 1109) expresses some doubt as to whether it is Theokletos or Theoleptos. According to the signatures in Nos. 52, 61 and in Codex Alpha, pp. 295 and 377, it is Theokletos. Ateses (I, 148) lists him only in 1639.

6. In the MS: 1/5 Mar. 1636-1 July 1639; Nos. 52, 53, 56, 59.

Inclusive dates: Elected, 18 July 1633-Sept. 1640; Chamoudopoulos, EA, II, 669. Germanos (VI, 71) dates the election on 16 July and extends Daniel's tenure only to Apr. 1640. Janin (Dictionnaire, XIV, 428) records Daniel's election correctly but does not know when his tenure ended. He records Dionysios in 1636 and Daniel on 24 Sept. 1638. Vapheides (GP, VII, 198) lists Daniel in 1633, Dionysios in 1636, and Daniel from 1637-1639. Anastasiou (TEE, IV, 1209) records Daniel in 1633, 1637, 1638, and 1639 with Dionysios in 1636. Ateses (I, 144) lists Daniel in 1633, followed by Parthenios in 1636, Dionysios in 1636, and another Daniel in 1639.

I am inclined to accept only one Daniel whose election is recorded on 18 July 1633 (Codex Alpha, p. 249) and who is last cited in Sept. 1640 (*ibid.*, p. 375). I am further inclined to doubt the accuracy of the reading of Parthenios in 1636 and Dionysios in the same year since Daniel is cited on the dates shown below where his signature is quite clear and in other instances where his name was written by a scribe is equally clear. Citations: Sept. 1635 (Codex Alpha, p. 281), 27 Jan. 1636 (*ibid.*, p. 285), 16 Mar. 1636 (*ibid.*, p. 287), Mar./Dec. 1636 (*ibid.*, p. 291) May/June 1636 (see below No. 56), Jan. 1637 (Codex Alpha, p. 299), 7 Jan. 1639 (*ibid.*, p. 341), 1 July 1639 (see below No. 59), 5 Aug. 1639 (Codex Alpha, p. 365), 18 Sept. 1639 (*ibid.*, p. 373), Apr. 1640 (*ibid.*, p. 381), 7 May 1640 (*ibid.*, p. 383), Sept. 1640 (*ibid.*, pp. 94, 375).

7. Inclusive dates: 1/5 Mar. 1636-before Nov. 1643 when his successor Parthenios was elected and he is cited as deposed; see Codex Alpha, p. 367. Janin (Dictionnaire, XII, 745) knows only of Kyrillos' suspension in Nov. 1639, while Nikolopoulos (TEE, XII, 134) records "1643?-1639."

8. Inclusive dates: 22 Mar. 1633-1639. See *Codex Alpha*, p. 245 for initial date. Germanos (VI, 92, n 1) attests Hierotheos in 1637 and 1639.

9. Inclusive dates: unknown.

10. In the MS: 1/5 Mar.-May/June 1636; Nos. 52, 55, 56.

Inclusive dates: June 1614-Feb. 1638 when his successor Hieremias, formerly of Myreon, was elected and he is cited as deposed; Sathas, p. 573; Chamoudopoulos, EA, II, 695; *Codex Alpha*, pp. 70, 327; Gedeon, *Ephemerides*, p. 101. Iakovos is unknown to Gritsopoulos and Charete (TEE, XI, 252), and to Solomonides, *Ἡ Ἐκκλησία τῆς Σμύρνης* (Athens, 1960).

53 (94, 47b)

ELECTION

Ekloge

Patriarch Kyrillos II

6 March 1636, Indiction 4

Hieromonk and pneumatikos Kallistos is elected Archbishop of Domenikon & Elasson¹ to succeed Ioasaph² who was deposed because of his unwillingness to contribute toward alleviation of the patriarchal indebtedness.

Other candidates: Hieromonk and pneumatikos Gregorios and Hieromonk and pneumatikos Sophronios

Confirmed by: Patriarch [Kyrillos] of Constantinople

†Laurentios of Ankyra,³ †Anthimos of Kyzikos, †Nektarios of Chalkedon, †Laurentios of Naupaktos [& Arta] †Ioasaph of Lakedaimonia, †Daniel of Didymoteichon, †Daniel of Diavlia & Talantion⁴

Menologema

Menologema in the text: July, Indiction 2. Resume: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Vivliotheke*, IV, 20. He lists only the names of the candidates and omits everything else.

1. In the MS: Mar. 1636; Nos. 53, 54.

Inclusive dates: Elected, 6 Mar. 1636-ca. July 1639; ca. July 1639-22 May 1646, deposed; Sathas, p. 579. Konstantinides (TEE, V, 160) lists Kallistos as deposed in 1646, while in the same volume but under a different entry (p. 547) he does not know Kallistos' date of deposition. In fact, although Domenikon was joined to Elasson in 1513, he has two separate episcopal lists with confusing dates after 1513. Janin (*Dictionnaire*, XV, 114) dates Kallistos from "ca. Mar. 1636-?" Ateses (I, 161) lists Kallistos only in 1636, followed by Germanos in 1637, 1638, Ioasaph in 1638, and another Kallistos in 1646. See above No. 26.

2. See above No. 26.

3. In the MS: 6 Mar.-May/June 1636; Nos. 53, 55, 56.

Inclusive dates: 22 Mar. 1633-1655, died. For the initial date see *Codex Alpha*, p. 245; Gritsopoulos, TEE, I, 283. Karalevsky (*Dictionnaire*, II, 1542) attest Laurentios from 1639-1643.

4. In the MS: 6 Mar.-May/June 1636; Nos. 53, 55, 56.

Inclusive dates: May 1616-ca. Sept. 1636, elected Metropolitan of Athens; see *Codex Alpha*, pp. 74, 242-43; Sathas, p. 571; Papadopoulos-Kerameus, "Περὶ τῆς Ἐπισκοπικῆς Διαυλείας," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, VII (1898), 56; Janin, *Dictionnaire*, V, 41; Kampouroglou, II, 266; Soteriou, TEE, I, 668.

54 (95, 48)

CONFESSION OF FAITH

Homologia pisteos

Patriarch Kyrillos II

[March 1636, Indiction 4]

The confession of faith of Kallistos, [Arch]bishop elect of the Archdiocese of Domenikon & Elasson and of Gregorios, Archbishop elect of the Archdiocese of Proikonesos.

†Gregorios, by the grace of God, candidate for the Archdiocese of Proikonesos¹

†Kallistos, by the grace of God, candidate for the [Arch]diocese of Domenikon & Elasson²

Menologema

Menologema in the text: July, Indiction 2. Signatures appear twice, top and bottom. Date taken from election certificate of Kallistos of Domenikon & Elasson. See below No. 55.

Cited: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Vivliotheke*, IV, 20. He omits all names.

1. In the MS: Mar. 1636-7 July 1639; Nos. 54, 60, 61.

Inclusive dates: Elected, June 1638-July 1639 when his successor Hieremias was elected and he is cited as resigned. See *Codex Alpha*, pp. 333 and 363; Chamoudopoulos, *EA*, II, 696.

Although the confession certificate should be dated fairly close to the date of election, it appears that Gregorios' election was delayed for over two years. See *Codex Alpha*, pp. 333 and 363 for election certificates. Gritsopoulos (*TEE*, X, 613) has no date for Gregorios.

2. See above No. 53.

55 (2-3)

CONFIRMATION

Sigillion

Patriarch Kyrillos II
April 1636, Indiction 4

A confirmation of the centuries old independence and privileges of the Monastery of All Saints (Varlaam) at Meteora. Neither the Metropolitan [Gregorios] of Larissa¹ nor the Bishop of Stagon² may interfere with the affairs of the monastery.

†Hieremias of Heraklia, †Laurentios of Ankyra, †Anthimos of Kyzikos, †Laurentios of Naupaktos [& Arta], †Parthenios of Mitylene,³ †Kornelios of Methymna,⁴ †Iakovos of Smyrna, †Daniel of Diavlia & Talantion

Menologema

Additional menologemata: December, Indiction 6 and August, Indiction ? The first page of the document is very badly damaged with two thirds of the text missing.

Cited: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Vivliotheke*, IV, 7-8; Arampatzoglou (Photieios, I, 156) ascribes the document to Patriarch Neophytos III and reads Kyrillos of Methymna instead of Kornelios. But according to his own chronology (*ibid.*, p. 210) Neophytos did not become patriarch until June 1636.

1. See above No. 6.

2. Unknown to me.

3. In the MS: Apr. 1636-ca. 5 Dec. 1646; Nos. 55, 68.

Inclusive dates: May 1629-7 Sept. 1654, resigned. Initial and last attestation in Sathas, pp. 567-589.

Konstantinides (TEE, IX, 272) only records a Parthenios from 1610-1629, followed by Konstantios 1629, and Gregorios from 1654-1693, while Ateses (II, 147) records Parthenios in 1610, Konstantios "1611-29, resigned," Neophytos 1624, and another Parthenios "1646-54, resigned."

Based on Codex Beta, Parthenios is attested from Apr. 1636-ca. 5 Dec. 1643 (see above), while Codex Alpha attests Parthenios from 8 June 1633-24 June 1640; pp. 247, 241, 411, 367, 371, 377, 381, 383, 94. (The citations in Codex Alpha are recorded in accordance to their chronological order.)

4. In the MS: Apr. 1636-ca. 5 Dec. 1646; Nos. 55, 56, 68.

Inclusive date: Apr. 1636-6 Feb. 1652 when his successor Anthimos was elected and he is cited as dead; Sathas, p. 586.

Mystakides (*Katalogoi*, p. 202) and Gritsopoulos (TEE, VIII, 1089) only record a Kornelios in 1622, while Ateses (II, 120) records Kornelios in 1622 and another in 1646.

56 (87, 44)

PATRIARCHAL INDEBTEDNESS

[Patriarchikon gramma]

Patriarch Kyrillos II

May/June 1636

Patriarch Kyrillos II from Verroia convenes a synod of hierarchs present in Constantinople to deal with the great indebtedness of the Patriarchate incurred as a result of bad administration. The Synod decides to impose a patriarchal *zetia* on all sees of the Patriarchate.

All hierarchs are required to pay their allotted share. The Patriarch is given authority to depose anyone unwilling to pay his share and to ordain another to fill his place.

†Hieremias of Heraklia, Laurentios of Ankyra, †Nektarios of Chalkedon, Parthenios of Adrianople, †Ioasaph of Lakedaimonia, †Laurentios of Naupaktos [& Arta], †Kornelios of Methymna, †Iezekiel of Korinth,¹ †Metrophanes of Anchialos,² †Daniel of Didymoteichon, †Iakovos of Smyrna, †Daniel of Diavlia & Talantion, † . . . of . . .

Cited: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Vivliotheke*, IV, 19; no signatures.

1. In the MS: May/June 1636-Jan. 1641; Nos. 56, 62, 64.

Inclusive dates: Elected, July 1628-July 1635, deposed; after Sept. 1636-23 Aug. 1638 when Ioasaph, formerly of Elasson, was elected and he is cited as deposed. On 30 Nov. 1639, Iezekiel was elected Metropolitan of Sophia but he did not assume office until his predecessor Ignatios resigned on 19 Sept. 1640. See below No. 62. Iezekiel served Sophia until ca. Dec. 1650; Sathas, pp. 571, 573, 575; Chamoudopoulos, *EA*, II, 696-97; Germanos, VIII, 167-68; Janin, *Dictionnaire*, XI, 313. For the texts of Iezekiel's depositions, see Gritsopoulos, *Theologia*, XXIX, 95-96 and 97, 98; idem, *Korinthos*, pp. 243-48; Phougias, *Historia*, pp. 375-76.

It is interesting to note that Kyrillos Spanos was the "legal" metropolitan of Korinth from 1628-Jan. 1637. Iezekiel's two brief tenures, therefore, were in many ways illegal. See Phougias, *Historia*, pp. 240-41; Gritsopoulos, *Korinthos*, pp. 243, 248; Janin (*Dictionnaire*, XIII, 878) and Konstantinides (*TEE*, VII, 858) list Iezekiel from July 1628-July 1635 and from 1637-July 1638. But in *Codex Alpha*, Kyrillos is attested in May, Aug., and Sept. 1630 (pp. 262-63, 286, 280-81), in Sept. 1636 (pp. 242-43), and in Jan. 1637 (p. 99) when he is cited as having been unjustly expelled and was elected Metropolitan of Philippoupolis.

2. In the MS: May/June 1636-7 July 1639; Nos. 56, 59, 60, 61.

Inclusive dates: Elected, 27 July 1628-7 July 1639; Vailhé, *Dictionnaire*, II, 1513; Gritsopoulos, *TEE*, I, 337; Germanos, VIII, 122. Metrophanes was Bishop of Agathoupolis when elected to Anchialos. See above No. 21. A. Diamantopoulos ("Κατάλογος ἐπισκοπῶν καὶ μητροπολιτῶν Ἀρχιᾶλου," *Thrakika*, IX (1938), p. 174.

57 (97-98, 49b)

CONDEMNATION OF HERESY

Synodike praxis
Patriarch Kyrillos II
[after 27 June 1638]

Convened by Patriarch Kyrillos II, the Holy Synod of the Church of Constantinople condemns the "heretical chapters" of former Patriarch Kyrillos [I Loukaris], who through God's forbearance was Patriarch of Constantinople.¹

1. Text is incomplete and ends abruptly. For complete text, see Ioannes Karmires, *Τὰ δογματικὰ καὶ συμβολικὰ μνημεῖα...* (Athens, 1953), 572-75. For a full account of this synod, see *ibid.*, pp. 562-71. Cited: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Vivliotheke*, IV, 20. See also Vaporis, *Codex Gamma*, No. 1, notes 1, 17 and above No. 21.

58 (61-64, 31-32)

DEPOSITION

[ca. July 1639]¹

Patriarch Kyrillos II from Verroia is deposed and stripped bare of all hierarchical and patriarchal grace, dignity, and honor. This is the third such deposition since Kyrillos from Verroia thrice through God's condescension seized the Ecumenical Throne through thievery and unscrupulousness.

Kyrillos promised much money and had the genuine patriarch, the Elder Kyrillos I expelled. He remained patriarch illegally for eight days and cost the Church more than fifty loads of aspers.

In his second tenure, he began by illegally and unjustly expelling hierarchs such as Neophytos of Heraklia,² Makarios of Tornovo,³ [Damaskenos] of

Thessalonike,⁴ and others. The hierarchs, however, were able to expel him, and they canonically and legally elected Neophytos [of Heraklia]⁵ patriarch. Shortly afterwards, Patriarch Kyrillos I returned to his throne.⁶

But Kyrillos from Verroia, who was insatiable, succeeded in returning illegally for a third time and had the Patriarch, the Elder Kyrillos, put to death.⁷ He continued in his evil ways by tyrannizing over clergymen and laymen, forcing them to do his will, to provide him with money.

Unable to tolerate the squandering of the Church's money, the hierarchs appointed a financial committee⁸ of four hierarchs with an equal number of officials and archons. But Kyrillos, "a depraved and dissolute organ of Satan," began to steal money from the Church and to squander it. Finally, an accounting of the Church's indebtedness was called for and he was forced to admit "with his own lips" the sum of ninety-nine loads, but refused to reveal the actual sum up to one hundred and fifty loads.

In retribution "the wolf from Verroia" exiled various hierarchs: Parthenios of Ioannina,⁹ one of the four eminent and leading members of the financial committee, Daniel of Serres,¹⁰ and Ioannikios of Verroia.¹¹ But when "our victorious and conquering Emperor"¹² returned, the hierarchs went out to meet him and informed him of the evils and the injustices perpetrated by Kyrillos from Verroia. The Emperor was convinced and ordered Kyrillos imprisoned until such time as he gave an accounting of the missing money.

Meanwhile, the three exiled hierarchs returned. They, joined by the other hierarchs, went before the "Emperor's justice" and brought charges against Kyrillos. Enraged, the Emperor ordered him expelled from the patriarchal throne and sent into exile.

End of document missing; no signatures.

Text: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta*, IV, 99-102. Cited: *idem*, *Vivliotheke*, IV, 14.

1. Kyrillos II's tenure ended at the end of June 1639, while

Parthenios I's began on 1 July 1639. The deposition would normally take place between the tenures or in the beginning of the tenure of the new patriarch.

2. Dated 1/10 March 1635-mid June 1636. See above No. 29 for Neophytos.

3. See above No. 45.

4. Inclusive dates: Elected, 16 Mar. 1634-27 Jan. 1636, cited as deposed; Sept. 1636-ca. Aug. 1637; June 1638-ca. Aug. 1639. He was appointed Proedros of Kassandria on 16 July 1643-June 1651, died. See Sathas, pp. 570, 571, 585, and especially above No. 48, n 1.

Kallinikos of Polyane was elected to replace Damaskenos on 27 Jan. 1636.

5. That is, middle of June 1636. See above No. 30.

6. That is, ca. 5 Mar. 1637.

7. Kyrillos II's return on 20 June 1638; Kyrillos I was murdered on 27 June 1638; Germanos, *Orthodoxia*, IX (1934), 435.

8. See above No. 51.

9. See above No. 51.

10. See above No. 48.

11. In the MS: July 1639-7 July 1639; Nos. 59,60,61.

Inclusive dates: Sept. 1636-20 June 1638; returned, 1 July 1639-June 1645, elected Patriarch of Alexandria. Ioannikios served Alexandria until 1657. Initial attestation in *Codex Alpha*, pp. 242-43. He is attested in the same source until 18 Sept. 1639; see pp. 315, 317, 341, 363, 365, 373; Sathas, p. 578. Gritsopoulos (TEE, III, 826), Stamoules (EMA, XII, 47) list Ioannikios from 1640-1645, while Ateses (I, 132) begins his tenure in 1639.

12. Sultan Murad IV, 1623-1640.

59 (65, 33)

PATRIARCHAL ELECTION

Ekloge

1 July 1639, Indiction 7

Metropolitan Parthenios of Adrianople¹ is elected Patriarch of Constantinople² to succeed Kyrillos from Verroia³ who had illegally and violently through God's

forebearance served as patriarch and has been legally deposed and expelled for the crimes that appear "on the opposite page."⁴

Other candidates: Porphyrios of Nikaia and Varlaam of Moldovlachia⁵

, †Meletios of Ephesos, †Ioannikios of Heraklia,⁶ †Anthimos of Kyzikos, †Makarios of Tornovo, †Pachomios of Chalkedon,⁷ †Iezekiel of Amasia,⁸ †Gregorios of Larissa, †Daniel of Athens,⁹ †Parthenios of Old Patras,¹⁰ †Parthenios of Ainos, †Parthenios of Ioannina, †Daniel of Serres, †Ioannikios of Verroia, †Akakios of Naupaktos & Arta,¹¹ †Chrysanthos of Prousa,¹² †Hieremias, formerly of Smyrna,¹³ †Meletios of Rhodes,¹⁴ †Gabriel of Philippoupolis,¹⁵ †Antonios of Drystra,¹⁶ †Parthenios of Ikonion,¹⁷ †Ignatios, formerly of Chios, †Daniel of Didymoteichon, †Damaskenos of Vizya,¹⁸ †Akakios of Mesemvria, †Metrophanes of Media,¹⁹ †Sophronios of Selyvria,²⁰ †Dorotheos of Aigina,²¹ †Metrophanes of Anchialos

Text: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta*, IV, 103-04. He omits Parthenios of Ainos, reads Neophytos (with a question mark) instead of Metrophanes of Media, Maximos (with a question mark) instead of Dorotheos of Aigina, omits Akakios of Naupaktos & Arta, and adds the see of Kampania. Germanos, *Orthodoxia*, IX, 525-26. He omits Klemes of Ainos and Akakios of Naupaktos & Arta. Arampatzoglou, *Photieios*, I, 99. He omits Klemes of Ainos, Akakios of Naupaktos & Arta, Ignatios, formerly of Chios, Akakios of Mesemvria, and reads Laurentios instead of Metrophanes of Anchialos. Resume: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Vivliotheke*, IV, 14-15. Cited: Germanos, *Thrakika*, VI, 41. Germanos (*ibid.*) and Arampatzoglou date the election incorrectly, while Papadopoulos-Kerameus and Germanos in *Orthodoxia* date it correctly.

1. See above No. 36.

2. Elected, 1 July 1639-Sept. 1644. See Vaporis, *Codex Gamma*, No. 1 for a brief biographical sketch of Parthenios and above No. 36.

3. See above No. 10.

4. See above No. 58.

5. Inclusive dates: unknown.

6. In the MS: 1 July 1639-Oct. 1643; Nos. 59, 60, 61, 64, 65, 67.

Inclusive dates: Elected, ca. Sept. 1636-16 Nov. 1646, elected Patriarch of Constantinople.

Ioannikios served as patriarch on four different occasions: 16 Nov. 1646-29 Oct. 1648; beginning June 1651-middle June 1652; 1/10 Apr. 1653-beginning Mar. 1654; and Mar. 1655-end July 1656. Germanos, VI, 75-76; idem, *Orthodoxia*, IX, 360; Konstantinides, TEE, VI, 61. See also Arampatzoglou, Photieios, I, 161 and Sathas, pp. 571, 580.

7. In the MS: 1 July 1639-Dec. 1646; Nos. 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68.

Inclusive dates: Elected, 1 Feb. 1637-20 June 1630, when his successor Dionysios was elected and he is cited as having resigned; Sathas, pp. 572, 575; Chamoudopoulos, EA, II, 695; Codex Alpha, pp. 301-331. Pachomios returned for a second time: ca. 1 July 1639-1647; Arampatzoglou, *Orthodoxia*, IX, 12021; Janin, *Dictionnaire*, XII, 276; Stavrides, TEE, XII, 54; Alexoudes, *Leukoma*, p. 110 lists Pachomios in 1637 and from 1643-1644.

8. In the MS: 1-7 July 1639; Nos. 59, 60.

Inclusive dates: Elected, 13 Mar. 1635-Jan. 1641, elected Metropolitan of Euripos. See below No. 64, n 7. Sathas, p. 570; Vailhé, *Dictionnaire*, II, 969; Alexoudes, *Leukoma*, p. 184; Mystakides, *Katalogoi*, p. 157; Gritsopoulos, TEE, II, 265.

9. In the MS: 1 July 1639-July 1641; Nos. 59, 60, 61, 66.

Inclusive dates: Elected, ca. Sept. 1636-8 Apr. 1655, resigned. See election and resignation documents in Kampouroglou, *Historia*, II, 266; Konidares, TCE, I, 445. Janin (*Dictionnaire*, V, 41) Soteriou (TEE, I, 688) list Daniel to 1652. Ateses (I, 114).

Previously, Daniel had served as metropolitan of Diavlia & Talantion: ?-1611; 1616-1636; Papadopoulos-Kerameus, BZ, VII, p. 56.

10. In the MS: 1 July 1639-Feb. 1641; Nos. 59, 60, 61, 65.

Inclusive dates: Elected, 7 Jan. 1639-Feb. 1641 when his successor Theophanes was elected and he is cited as deposed. See below No. 65.

Theophanes served until 1646 when Parthenios returned for a second time and served until 1649. Theophanes followed in 1649 and served until 1650. Gedeon, *Ephemerides*, p. 101; Sathas, p. 573; Chamoudopoulos, EA, II, 696 records Theophanes' election

on 3 Jan. 1639. Parthenios was Bishop of Kernitza when elected to Old Patras. He served the former from 25 Feb. 1622-7 Jan. 1639. See above No. 37.

11. In the MS: 1 July 1639-7 July 1639; Nos. 59, 60, 61.

Inclusive dates: Elected, July 1637-ca. 9 Sept. 1643 when Galaktion was elected and he is cited as dead. For Akakios' election, see *Codex Alpha*, p. 313 and Sathas, p. 572, 576 for Galaktion's election. Akakios had served as Bishop of Vonditza ?-July 1637.

Ateses (II, 126) lists Akakios from 1637-1639, followed by Anthimos in 1639, Theodosios Korydalleus from 1640-1642, and Galaktion from 1643-1647; Christopoulos (TEE, IX, 328) lists Akakios from 1637-1640, Theodosios from 1640-1641, and Galaktion from 1643-1647; EKL (TCE, I, 668) lists Akakios in 1637, Gabriel in 1638, Anthimos in 1639, Theophanes in 1640, Theodosios from 1640-1643, and Galaktion from 1643-1647.

12. In the MS: 1-7 July 1639; Nos. 59, 61.

Inclusive dates: Elected, Aug. 1634-ca. Jan. 1641. See *Codex Alpha*, p. 267 for election certificate; Sathas, p. 570 and Gedeon, *Ephemerides*, p. 98. Alexoudes (*Leukoma*, p. 185) and Phoropoulos (TEE, X, 679) list Chrysanthos to 1642 but they are unaware of Neophytos who is attested in Jan. 1641. See below No. 64.

13. In the MS: 1-7 July 1639; Nos. 59, 60.

Inclusive dates: Elected, Feb. 1638-before 1 July 1639. Hieremias was Bishop of Myreon when elected; Sathas, p. 573; *Codex Alpha*, p. 327. Solomonides, *Ἡ Ἐκκλησία Σμύρνης* (Athens, 1960), p. 166 records Hieremias from 1640-1651.

14. In the MS: 1-7 July 1639; Nos. 59, 60, 61.

Inclusive dates: Elected, 14 Aug. 1637-ca. 7 July 1639. Sathas, p. 572; Chamoudopoulos, *EA*, II, 695. For Meletios' election certificate, see *Codex Alpha*, p. 317 and Evangelides, *EEBS*, VI (1929), 169.

Sometime in 1639 Meletios apostacized and became a Moslem after having stolen money collected for the Holy Places in Jerusalem. In spite of his conversion, Meletios, now named Ismael, attempted to control the revenues of the Metropolis of Rhodes. Reported to Sultan Mehmed IV, the former metropolitan was ordered executed. To the very end, Meletios insisted that he was a sincere convert to Islam but he was beheaded anyway. See

Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Vivliotheke*, I, 280-81; *idem*, *Analekta*, IV, 104; Evangelides, *EEBS*, VI, 169, n 1.

15. In the MS: 1 July 1639; Nos. 59, 60, 61.

Inclusive dates: Elected, Dec. 1636. Election was suspended and Kyrillos, formerly of Korinth was elected in his place in Jan. 1637. Kyrillos was deposed on 1 June 1639 and Gabriel, former Archdeacon of Patriarch Kyrillos II returned on 1 July 1639 and remained until 11 Sept. 1673; Sathas, p. 572; Chamoudopoulos, *EA*, II, 672; *Codex Alpha*, pp. 297, 299; Germanos VIII, 185; Gritsopoulos, *Archeion*, XIX, 270.

16. In the MS: 1-7 July 1639; Nos. 59, 60, 61.

Inclusive dates: Elected, 22 Mar. 1633-Aug. 1637, deposed. Although Hieremias, formerly of Myra, was elected to succeed Antonios, the latter, forgiven, retained his see while Hieremias' election was annulled; Sathas, pp. 569, 572; Chamoudopoulos, *EA*, II, 669, 695; *Codex Alpha*, p. 274. Antonios was deposed once more in Aug. 1643 but it appears that he returned to his see. There is a Paisios cited at the end of 1647. On 16 Mar. 1650 Antonios, as the former Metropolitan of Drystra was elected Metropolitan of Old Patras. Sathas, p. 576; *Codex Alpha*, 321.

Janin (*Dictionnaire*, XIV, 826) lists Antonios' election in Aug. 1623, but this cannot be the same person who was elected on 22 Mar. 1633 and was then a priest and served as protosynkellos of the Great Church; see Germanos, VIII, 138; *Codex Alpha*, p. 245. The Antonios whom he cites as elected in Aug. 1623 signs a confession of faith in *Codex Alpha*, p. 135. Hence we have two hierarchs with the same name.

17. Inclusive dates: ?-30 Aug. 1638, resigned; Sathas, p. 573; Chamoudopoulos, *EA*, II, 696; *Codex Alpha*, p. 337. On Dec. 1639 Parthenios then the former Metropolitan of Ikonion was elected Metropolitan of Varna. See Germanos, VIII, 127 and below No. 64, n 9.

18. In the MS: 1-7 July 1639-1/22 July 1641; Nos. 59, 60, 61, 65, 66.

Inclusive dates: Elected, 8 Mar. 1631-1/22 July 1641, elected Metropolitan of Mesembria; see below No. 66; Sathas, p. 568; and Chamoudopoulos, *EA*, III, 418; Gritsopoulos (*TEE*, III, 890) Janin (*Dictionnaire*, IX, 46) list Daniel from "1631-1648?"

19. Inclusive dates: Elected, Oct. 1636-June 1651 when his successor Christophoros was elected and he is cited as dead;

Sathas, p. 670; Chamoudopoulos, EA, II, 670; Germanos, VI, 99-100.

20. In the MS: 1-7 July 1639; Nos. 59, 60, 61.

Inclusive dates: Elected, Feb. 1638-8 Oct. 1645, cited as resigned. Sathas, p. 573, 578; Germanos, VI, 119, n 8. See Gritsopoulos, Archeion, XXIX, 123 for the text of Sophronios' resignation. Gritsopoulos, TEE, XI, 122 erroneously believes Sophronios became Metropolitan of Ikonion in Aug. 1638.

21. In the MS: 1 July 1639; Nos. 59, 60, 61.

Inclusive dates: Elected, 24 Oct. 1627-1651, resigned; Sathas, p. 566; N. Moutsopoulos, TEE, I, 986; Janin, Dictionnaire, XI, 930. Mystakides (Katalogoi, p. 155) lists Dorotheos from "1628-Oct. 1641, resigned."

60 (67, 34)

ELECTION

Ekloge

Patriarch Parthenios I

7 July 1639, Indiction 7

Metropolitan Parthenios of Ioannina¹ is elected Metropolitan of Adrianople² to succeed Parthenios who was elected Patriarch of Constantinople.³

Other candidates: Pachomios, formerly of Rhodes and Ioasaph of Lakedaimonia

†Meletios of Ephesos, †Ioannikios of Heraklia, †Anthimos of Kyzikos, †Makarios of Tornovo, †Pachomios of Chalkedon, †Ioannikios of Verroia, †Meletios of Rhodes, †Gregorios of Larissa, †Daniel of Serres, †Iezekiel of Amasia, †Daniel of Athens, †Gabriel of Philippoupolis, †Parthenios of Old Patras, †Gregorios of Proikonesos, Akakios of Naupaktos & Arta, †Damaskenos of Vizya, †Antonios of Drystra, †Hieremias, formerly of Smyrna, †Metrophanes of Anchialos, †Akakios of Mesemvria, †Ioasaph of New Patras,⁴ †Sophronios of Selyvria, †Gregorios of Agathoupolis⁵

Text: Gennadios, Photieios, I, 100-01 erroneously reads Sophronios of Anchialos instead of Metrophanes; records Ioannikios of Verroia and Meletios of Rhodes twice; and adds Daniel of Didymoteichon, Metrophanes of Media, Ioakeim of Kos, and Parthenios of Ioannina when they do not appear as signatories. Moreover, Gennadios does not list the signatories in the order in which they signed.

1. See above No. 51, n 3.

2. In the MS: 7 July 1639-Oct. 1643; Nos. 60, 61, 64, 65, 67.

Inclusive dates: Elected, 7 July 1639-8 Sept. 1644, elected Patriarch of Constantinople; Sathas, pp. 577, 579; Germanos, VI, 41; Gritsopoulos, TEE, I, 459; Alexoudes (*Leukoma*, p. 185) lists Parthenios from 1638.

3. See above No. 59.

4. Inclusive dates: Elected, 22 Apr. 1639-Apr. 1640; Sathas, p. 573, 577, 593; Chamoudopoulos, EA, II, 696; *Codex Alpha*, pp. 347, 349, 380-81.

5. Inclusive dates: Elected, 1628-23 Dec. 1651, resigned; Sathas, p. 584; Petrides, *Dictionnaire*, I, 922; Germanos, VIII, 118; Gritsopoulos, TEE, I, 105; Stamoules, *Thrakika*, XIV, 66.

61 (69, 35)

ELECTION

Ekloge

Patriarch Parthenios I

7 July 1639, Indiction 7

Hieromonk and pneumatikos Kallinikos is elected Metropolitan of Ioannina¹ to succeed Parthenios who was transferred to Adrianople.²

Other candidates: Hieromonk Matthaïos the Protosynkelos of Serres and Archimandrites Philotheos

†Meletios of Ephesos, †Ioannikios of Heraklia, †Anthimos of Kyzikos, †Makarios of Tornovo, †Parthenios of Adrianople, †Anthimos of Trapezous,³ †Pachomios of Chalkedon, †Gregorios of Larissa, †Daniel of Serres, †Ioannikios of Verroia, †Daniel of Athens, †Parthenios

of Old Patras, †Akakios of Naupaktos & Arta, †Gabriel of Philippoupolis, †Meletios of Rhodes, †Chrysanthos of Prousa, †Antonios of Drystra, †Damaskenos of Vizya, †Gregorios of Proikonesos, †Theokletos of Philippi & Drama, †Akakios of Mesemvria, †Metrophanes of Anchialos, †Sophronios of Selyvria, †Dorotheos of Aigina

Text: Gritsopoulos, "Ο Ἰωαννίνων Καλλίνικος," *Ἡπειρωτική Ἐστία*, III (1954), 448. Gritsopoulos erroneously reads Ioannes for Ioannikios of Verroia, Ioasaph of Lakedaimonia for Akakios of Naupaktos & Arta, and Anthimos of Naxos for Anthimos of Trapezous.

1. In the MS: 7 July 1639-Oct. 1643; Nos. 61, 67.

Inclusive dates: Elected, 7 July 1639-Oct. 1643, cited as deposed. See below No. 67.

Kallinikos was succeeded by Ioasaph, formerly of Euripos (elected, 1643-Sept. 1644) who was deposed and whom Kallinikos succeeded, remaining until Jan. 1666 when he was deposed for a second time. Sathas, pp. 577, 597; Germanos, ECH, XII, 67-68; Ateses I, 441-42. Anastasiou (TEE, VII, 68) cites Kallinikos from 1639-1640 and from 1644-1666.

2. See above No. 60.

3. In the MS: 7 July 1639-1640; Nos. 61, 63.

Inclusive dates: 1638/1639-1640. Chrysanthos, Trapezous, pp. 563-66. Anthimos had also served as Bishop of Karyoupolis: Dec. 1626-May 1629, cited as deposed. See below No. 63, n 3.

62 (71, 36)

RESIGNATION

Paraitesis

Patriarch Parthenios I

19 September 1640, Indiction 9

Metropolitan Ignatios of Sophia¹ voluntarily resigns from his see and is replaced by Iezekiel, formerly of

Korinth² who voluntarily agrees to assume the indebtedness of the metropolis and to release Ignatios and his guarantors from any responsibility. The debt of the metropolis consists of the following: "to the most illustrious and most renown Retzip Aga—134,000 aspers," "to the most glorious kadi Kapitzi Moustapha Aga—3,900 grosia," and 1,000 grosia for the zetia making a total of 4,900 grosia. In addition, to Ali Tzelepi Sophiali, to Giasaktzi Ali Pasha, and to Sera-sertz Ali Tzelepi a total of 1,100 grosia, and to Salich Tzelepi 800 grosia.

†Confirmed by: Patriarch Parthenios of Constantinople

†Sworn to by: Ignatios, formerly of Sophia

Witnessed by: †Pachomios of Chalkedon, †Sophronios of Vidyna,³ †Neophytos of Monemvasia,⁴ †Gerassimos of Philippi & Drama,⁵ Meletios of Varna⁶

Menologema. Monokondylion.

There is an additional menologema in the text: August, Indiction 2. Text: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Vivliotheke*, IV, 15-16.

1. In the MS: 19 Sept. 1640-July 1641; Nos. 62, 66.

Inclusive dates: Elected, May 1631-30 Nov. 1639, cited as deposed. On the latter date, Iezekiel, formerly of Korinth, was elected to replace Ignatios. However, it appears that the deposition and election did not become immediately effective since Ignatios is attested in office until 19 Sept. 1640 when he resigned in favor of Iezekiel. See Sathas, p. 575; Germanos, VIII, 167; Janin, *Dictionnaire*, XI, 313; Gritsopoulos, *Korinthos*, pp. 246-47; Phougias, *Historia*, p. 459.

2. Inclusive dates: Elected, 30 Nov. 1639 but did not assume office until 19 Sept. 1640. Iezekiel continued as Metropolitan of Sophia until Dec. 1650 when he is cited as dead; Sathas, p. 575; Germanos, VIII, 168; Janin, *Dictionnaire*, XI, 313; Phougias, *Historia*, Gritsopoulos, *Korinthos*, pp. 246-47.

3. Inclusive dates: Elected, 7 May 1640-Mar. 1660 when his successor Philotheos was elected and he is cited as deposed; Sathas, pp. 575, 595; Chamoudopoulos, *EA*, II, 697; *Codex Alpha*, p. 248; Germanos, VIII, 132.

Sophronios had served as Metropolitan of Athens: elected, 9 Dec. 1633-ca. Sept. 1636, deposed. On the latter date, his successor Daniel is cited; see below No. 59, n 9; Sathas, p. 573; *Codex Alpha*, p. 243. For the date of the election, see Sathas, pp. 569-70; *Codex Alpha*, p. 257; Kampouroglou, *Historia*, II, 265-66; Mystakides, *Katalogoi*, p. 153. But Sophronios apparently contested the conditions of his deposition and quarreled with Daniel. He did not formally resign until 21 Feb. 1638; *Codex Alpha*, p. 325. Konidares (*TCE*, I, 445) Janin (*Dictionnaire*, V, 41) Anonymous (*TEE*, I, 704), Soterious (*TEE*, I, 668), and Ateses (I, 144) all list Sophronios from 1633-1636. Ateses lists his formal resignation on 19 Oct. 1638, *ibid.* On 7 May 1640, Sophronios as the former Metropolitan of Athens was elected Metropolitan of Vidyna which he served until Mar. 1660 when his successor Philotheos was elected and he is cited as deposed. Germanos, VIII, 132; *Codex Alpha*, p. 383; Sathas, p. 575.

4. In the MS: 19 Sept. 1640-July 1641; Nos. 62, 64, 65, 66.

Inclusive dates: 1626-2 Mar. 1649, cited as dead; Sathas, p. 583; Gritsopoulos, *TEE*, IX, 45; Ateses, II, 131.

5. Inclusive dates: Elected, Jan. 1640-13 Mar. 1674 when his successor Neophytos (who was Bishop of Petra) was elected and he is cited as having resigned due to illness; Sathas, pp. 575, 585; *Codex Alpha*, pp. 377, 490. Papaevangelos (*TEE*, XI, 1109) lists Gerasimos from 1640-1651 and Sophronios from 1651-1653, Laurentios in 1653, Gerasimos in 1663, and Neophytos in 1674.

6. Inclusive dates: Elected, 7 Apr. 1635-Apr. 1637 when his successor Agathanagelos, formerly of Platamon, was elected and he is cited as deposed; Germanos, VIII, 126-27. But Meletios returned for a second time: ?-Dec. 1639 when Parthenios, formerly of Ikonion is cited as elected and he as deposed for a second time. Meletios returned for a third time: sometime after 1641-25 Aug. 1649 when Anthimos was elected and he is cited as dead; *ibid.* 127. Also see Mystakides, *Katalogoi*, p. 165. Sathas dates Meletios' election on 8 Apr. 1635 (p. 570). Also see (*ibid.*, pp. 572, 575, 583.)

63 (74, 37b)

DEPOSITION

Kathairesis

Patriarch Parthenios I

[1640]

Metropolitan Anthimos of Trapezous¹ is deposed and unfrocked by Patriarch Parthenios and the Holy Synod, with the participation of "the most-honorable and most-learned officials of the Great Church of Christ," who also possess the opinions of those hierarchs absent from the synod. Charges against Anthimos were brought before the synod by officials and archons of the metropolis of Trapezous. They charged their metropolitan with wronging the Christians of his province, of handing them over to the civil authority, of causing them great harm, of drinking and feasting from morning to night, of neglecting to perform church services and to oversee the administration of his province, of neglecting the spiritual welfare of his Christians, and "worst of, all," of cursing and stealing the offerings made to the metropolis and using them for his own personal needs and desires—in short, of leading a completely prodigal life.

Opening the ancient codex of the Church, the Holy Synod finds that thirteen years before Anthimos had been deposed as Bishop of Karyoupolis² under Patriarch Kyrillos I on charges of being a drunkard, wrathful, and indecent, of personally beating his Christians with his own hands, with stones, and with a sword. He even pulled out hairs from the heads and beards of laymen and clergymen and performed fourth marriages and others equally illegal. Finally, he had been apprehended on 30 January 1627 of "lustfully sleeping on a mattress with some nun." For these crimes he had then been punished by the civil authority and was deposed by the synod.

But this unscrupulous and notorious man learned nothing from all of that. He became a cohort of that

“rebel and ravager” of the Great Church and of Christians, that “destructive and harmful man from Verroia.”³ At that time he had also stolen many of the offerings given to the Great Church.

Monokondylion

The document ends abruptly; its conclusion is not in the MS hence no date appears or signatories. The chronology is that of Chrysanthos (Trapezous, p. 564) who bases it on the position of the document in the MS, something which is not always a reliable guide. In No. 65, dated Feb. 1641, we do have Anthimos' successor. Consequently, 1640 is a good probable date.

Text: Chrysanthos, Trapezous, pp. 564-65 where the text is broken up and interspersed with his commentary. Resume: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Vivliotheke*, IV, 16.

1. See above No. 61.

2. Inclusive dates: Dec. 1626-May 1629, cited as deposed. See *Codex Alpha*, p. 178 and 152; Sathas, p. 567. Janin, *Dictionnaire*, XI, 1245, only cites Anthimos' deposition in May 1628.

3. Reference to Patriarch Kyrillos II; see above No. 10.

64 (76, 38b)

DEPOSITION AND UNFROCKING

Kathairesis

Patriarch Parthenios I

January 1641, Indiction 9

Metropolitan Ioasaph of Korinth¹ is deposed and unfrocked by a synod of hierarchs and officials, holding the opinion of other absent hierarchs as well. They grant permission to elect another in his place.

Ioasaph is deposed because he had disobeyed the synodical tomos which specifically states that any hierarch who does not pay the *zetia*, declared from time to time, and all of his financial obligations to the Great Church is deposed and unfrocked and is replaced by another.

Moreover, Ioasaph had refused more than once to pay the zetia he owed to the patriarchal exarch, who traveled to his metropolis in person, despite his written promise to do so on the last feast day of the Archangels.² He also broke his written promise, voluntarily given, when he was elected Metropolitan of Korinth to assume the indebtedness of his predecessor, Metropolitan Iezekiel,³ consisting of two loads. This money was owed to the now deceased Ese Bey of the Janissaries who because of this had caused the Church many difficulties. Finally, Ioasaph traveled to Constantinople without patriarchal permission and instead of calling at the Patriarchate to pay his respects, he went into hiding and became an opponent and an enemy of the Church, refusing to come forward despite many invitations.

Ioasaph was, therefore, deposed and unfrocked in a formal ecclesiastical service.

†Ioannikios of Heraklia, †Pachomios of Chalkedon, †Hieremias of Chios,⁴ †Parthenios of Adrianople, †Ioasaph of Lakedaimonia, †Kyrillos of Nikomedia,⁵ Neophytos of Monemvasia, †Neophytos of Prousa,⁶ †Iezekiel of Euripos,⁷ †Porphyrrios of Nikaia,⁸ †Parthenios of Varna,⁹ †Metrophanes of Amasia.¹⁰

Monokondylion. Menologema.

Text: T. Gritsopoulos, "Δύο συνοδικαὶ καθαιρέσεις Μητροπολιτῶν Κορίνθου κατὰ τοῦ 12^{ου} αἰῶνα," *Παλοποννησιακά*, VII (1969-70), pp. 391-92.

Resume: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Vivliotheke*, IV, 16. Cited: Phoungias, *Historia*, pp. 241-42; Gritsopoulos, *Korinthos*, pp. 248-49. Gritsopoulos (*Παλοποννησιακά*) dates the document February instead of January 1641. Moreover, he records Chrystanthos of Prousa, omits Kyrillos of Nikomedia, and adds Kornelios of Methymna.

1. Inclusive dates: Elected, 23 Aug. 1638-Jan. 1641, deposed. Election certificate in *Codex Alpha*, p. 335; Sathas, p. 573; Chamoudopoulos, *EA*, II, 696; Gritsopoulos, *Korinthos*, pp. 248-49; Ateses, I, 468.

Ioasaph was formerly Archbishop of Elasson where he served from Dec. 1621-1/5 Mar. 1633; see above No. 26.

Janin (*Dictionnaire*, XIII, 878) lists Ioasaph from "31 Aug. 1638-1639?" Konstantinides (TEE, VII, 858) from "Aug. 1638-39?"; Phougias (*Historia*, p. 359) from 1638-1640; and Gritsopoulos (*Korinthos*, p. 248) lists Ioasaph's deposition in Feb. 1641.

2. Observed on 8 November.

3. See above No. 56.

4. In the MS: Jan.-Feb. 1641; Nos. 64, 65.

Inclusive dates: Jan. 1641-Feb. 1641. Nikolopoulos (TEE, XII, 134) and Janin (*Dictionnaire*, XII, 745) appear not to know the above document and therefore date Hieremias "Feb. 1641?"

5. In the MS: Jan. 1641-Dec. 1646; Nos. 64, 65, 68.

Inclusive dates: Elected, 6 May 1639-26 Mar. 1659 when his successor Timotheos was elected and he is cited as having resigned; Sathas, pp. 574, 594; Chamoudopoulos, EA, II, 696.

Kyrillos was the Archimandrites of the Patriarch of Jerusalem. His predecessor Neophytos resigned in his favor. See Gedeon, *Ephemerides*, p. 103; Codex Alpha, p. 353.

Konstantinides (TEE, IX, 543) following Alexoudes (*Leukoma*, p. 109) lists Kyrillos from 1639-1651.

6. Inclusive dates: ca. Jan. 1641-?

Neophytos is unknown to Alexoudes (*Katalogoi*) and to Phoropoulos (TEE). See above No. 59, n 12.

7. In the MS: Jan. 1641-Feb. 1641; Nos. 64, 65.

Inclusive dates: Jan. 1641-Feb. 1641. In Codex Alpha, p. 397, dated 22 July 1641, Daniel is elected to replace Ioasaph who had his tenure interrupted for "a few months" in 1641; Sathas, p. 576; Chamoudopoulos, EA, II, 697. Iezekiel had served as Metropolitan of Amasia from 13 Mar. 1635-Jan. 1641; see above No. 59, n 8.

8. In the MS: Jan.-Feb. 1641; Nos. 64, 65.

Inclusive dates: Elected, June 1640-Aug. 1644, deposed. Porphyrios was exonerated in 1647 and returned until 22 Apr. 1653 when he died; Sathas, pp. 575, 578, 581, 588; Codex Alpha, p. 385; Konstantinides, TEE, IX, 459; Alexoudes, *Leukoma*, p. 109.

9. In the MS: Jan.-Feb. 1641; Nos. 64, 65.

Inclusive dates: Elected, Dec. 1639-sometime before Apr. 1640 when Meletios is attested. The latter served from Apr. 1640-May 1641. Parthenios returned for a second time ca. Jan. 1641 and

was succeeded by Meletios (same person?) once more. Germanos, VIII, 127; Codex Alpha, p. 371.

Parthenios was the former Metropolitan of Ikonion when elected; Sathas, p. 575; see also below No. 59, n 17.

10. Inclusive dates: Jan. 1641-1644; Gritsopoulos, TEE, II, 265; Vailhe, Dictionnaire, II, 970. He is unknown to Mystakides and Alexoudes.

65 (77, 39)

ELECTION

Ekloge

Patriarch Parthenios I

February 1641, Indiction 9

Archbishop Theophanes, formerly of Phanarion & Neochorion¹ is elected Metropolitan of Old Patras² to succeed Parthenios who was deposed.³

Other candidates: Iakovos, formerly of Ganos & Chora⁴ and Theodosios, formerly of Media⁵

†Ioannikios of Heraklia, †Parthenios of Adrianople, †Kyrillos of Nikomedia, †Neophytos of Monemvasia, †Porphyrios of Nikaia, †Ioasaph of Lakedaimonia, †Laurentios of Trapezous,⁶ †Iezekiel of Euripos, †Parthenios of Varna, †Gregorios of Korinth,⁷ †Hieremias of Chios, †Damaskenos of Vizya

Menologema

Resume: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Vivliotheke, IV, 16; he omits Laurentios of Trapezous.

1. Inclusive dates: May 1630-Oct. 1633 when Euthymios was elected and he is cited as resigned. As the former Archbishop of Phanarion & Neochorion, Theophanes is attested from Oct. 1633-7 Jan. 1639 in Codex Alpha (pp. 272, 273, 317, 341) and to Feb. 1641 in the present MS. For Theophanes initial date, see Codex Alpha, pp. 262-63 and 216. Gritsopoulos (TEE, VI, 436) and Ateses (I, 176) attest Theophanes only in 1633.

2. Inclusive dates: Feb. 1641-1646; 1649-1650. His tenure was

interrupted by Parthenios whom he succeeded. See below No. 59, n 10. Tzirakes, TEE, X, 163.

3. See above No. 59.

4. Inclusive dates: Elected, 7 Aug. 1637-21 Aug. 1639, resigned. Sathas, pp. 572, 574; Germanos, VI, 59; Codex Alpha, pp. 315, 368; Patrineles, TEE, IV, 231.

Iakovos was Metropolitan of Sides when elected. He served the later from Sept. 1631-Aug. 1637.

5. See above No. 36.

6. In the MS: Feb. 1641-Dec. 1646; Nos. 65, 68.

Inclusive dates: 1640/1641-24 Dec. 1659 when his successor Philotheos (Archbishop of Agathoupolis: 1650-1659) was elected and he is cited as dead; Sathas, p. 594; Chrysanthos, Trapezous, pp. 566-72; Codex Alpha, p. 266.

7. Inclusive dates: Feb. 1641-May 1660; Codex Alpha, pp. 417-18; Phougias, Historia, pp. 241-42; Gritsopoulos, Korinthos, pp. 249, 252; Ateses, I, 468. Gritsopoulos (TEE, VII, 858) attests Gregorios in 1642 only as does Janin, Dictionnaire, XIII, 878. For an account of Gregorios' career, see Gritsopoulos, Korinthos, pp. 249-52.

66 (57, 29)

ELECTION

Ekloge

Patriarch Parthenios I

1/22 July 1641, Indiction 9

Metropolitan Damaskenos of Vizya¹ is elected Metropolitan of Mesemvria² to succeed Akakios who died.³

Other candidates: Ignatios, formerly of Sophia, and Theodosios, formerly of Media

†Pachomios of Chalkedon, †Gregorios of Larissa, †Neophytos of Monemvasia, †Daniel of Athens
Menologema

Additional menologema in the text: May, Indiction 3 with the prayer "Hagios ho Theos" written at the top of the document and on the bottom but upside down. In addition, the prayer "Panagia Trias" is written vertically in the middle of the page through the menologema and the last row of signatures.

Resume: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Vivliotheke, IV, 14.

1. See above No. 59.

2. Inclusive dates: Elected, 1/22 July 1641-July 1668; *Codex Alpha*, pp. 397, 438-39. Damaskenos is attested as former in Aug. 1673. He was succeeded by Theophanes, attested in 1672. Germanos, VIII, 153-54 erroneously lists the election in June instead of July 1641.

3. See above No. 27.

67 (79, 40)

DEPOSITION AND UNFROCKING

Kathairesis

Patriarch Parthenios I

October 1643, Indiction 12

Metropolitan Kallinikos of Ioannina,¹ who has been undisciplined and disobedient, is deposed and unfrocked. He is declared to be guilty, in absentia, of acting unjustly toward his flock, of failing to respond to Patriarchal letters, and to imperial orders commanding him to appear in Constantinople before the Holy Synod to answer charges placed against him.

†Makarios of Kaisaria,² †Ioannikios of Heraklia, †Pachomios of Chalkedon, †Gregorios of Larissa, †Parthenios of Adrianople, †Gabriel of Lakedaimonia³
Monokondylon. Menologema.

Resume: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Vivliotheke, IV, 16; he omits Makarios of Kaisaria.

1. See above No. 61.

2. Inclusive dates: unknown. Alexoudes (*Katalogoi*, p. 108)

lists no one between Anthimos in 1639 and Zacharias in 1649, while Janin (*Dictionnaire*, XII, 202) attests Zacharias from Nov. 1642-1649 when he was deposed. Makarios, therefore must have interrupted Zacharias' tenure.

3. Inclusive dates: Elected, Jan. 1641-1670; Sathas, p. 575; Mystakides, *Katalogoi*, p. 188.

Sometime in 1656, Gabriel was falsely reported dead and Zosimas was elected to replace him. When the truth became known, Zosimas resigned reportedly in Sept. 1656 (Sathas, p. 593) although he is cited in June 1657 as well (see *Codex Alpha*, pp. 17-18).

Gritsopoulos (*TEE*, VIII, 84) cites Gabriel to 1670 without an initial date, while Ateses (II, 125-26) cites Gabriel "elected Jan. 1641, and in 1643, followed by Dorotheos after 1650, Symeon Stephanopoulos in 1665, and a second Gabriel in 1669 and 1670. In *Codex Alpha*, a Gabriel is cited in June 1661 (pp. 431-32) as well as in Nov. 1643 (pp. 405-06). Mystakides also cites Gabriel in 1669. There Dorotheos follows Gabriel in 1669.

68 (59-60, 30)

A TAX EXEMPTION

Katholikon gramma

Patriarch Ioannikios II¹

ca. 5 December 1646, Indiction 15²

Bishop Gabriel of Skyros,³ the officials, clergy, archons, and faithful of the diocese are informed that Bishop Gabriel is exempt from the obligation of paying the *zetia* and *voetheia*. This decision is taken because the Bishop of Skyros has no ecclesiastical income. Moreover, it has been a custom of long standing to exempt him because unlike the other hierarchs, he has no local *zetia* or *emvatikia* or *hagiasmoi* or "wheat portion," but maintains himself from the income of the diocese. No one, therefore, either official, clergyman or layman may ask him to pay the patriarchal *zetia*. The latter is to be paid by the municipality (*politeia*) through a general collection, while the *voetheia* is to be paid in accordance with the old custom by the clergy and laity. Bishop

Gabriel, as well as his successors, are only required to pay the imperial haratsi which is obligatory for all hierarchs.

†Anthimos of Kyzikos, †Kyrillos of Nikomedia, †Pachomios of Chalkedon, †Daniel of Serres, †Neophytos of Adrianople,⁴ †Dionysios of Tornovo,⁵ †Laurentios of Trapezous, †Kornelios of Methymna, †Parthenios of Mitylene, †Meletios of Selyvria,⁶ †Neilos of [T]zia & Thermia,⁷ †Sophronios of Gardikion⁸

Monokondylon. Menologema.

There is an additional menologema in the text: July, Indiction 2. Text: Vasileios Ateses, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Σκύρου* (Athens, 1961), pp. 53-54. Resume: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Vivliotheke*, IV, 14.

1. Elected, 16 Nov. 1646-Oct. 1648; June 1651-May 1652; July 1653-17 May 1654.

Patriarch Ioannikios II was a native of the island of Rhodes where he became a monk. In Apr. 1624 he was ordained Metropolitan of Ganos & Chora by Patriarch Kyrillos I. He served there until Sept. 1686 when he was transferred to the Metropolis of Heraklia. It was as Metropolitan of Heraklia that Ioannikios was elected Patriarch of Constantinople.

2. Date based on the election of Neilos of Thermia; see below note 7.

3. Inclusive dates: 1640-1649; Ateses, *TEE*, XI, 240-41; Ateses, I, 448; Ateses, *Skyros*, p. 52.

4. Inclusive dates: Elected, Sept. 1644-1688, expelled, resigned; Germanos, VI, 41. Election certificate in Arampatzoglou, I, 170-71. Mystakides, *Katalogoi*, p. 184. On 27 Nov. 1688 Neophytos was elected Patriarch of Constantinople which he served until 7 Mar. 1689. For a brief sketch of Neophytos' career, see Nomikos M. Vaporis, *Some Aspects of the History of the Ecumenical Patriarchate* (New York, 1969), pp. 35-36; Germanos, *Orthodoxia*, X (1935), 357-59.

There is some confusion with regard to Neophytos' tenure as Metropolitan of Adrianople. Germanos, VI, 41-42 and Gritsopoulos, *TEE*, I, 459 record only one Neophytos from Sept. 1644-1688. But Alexoudes (*Katalogoi*, p. 184) attests Neophytos from

1644-1648, a second Neophytos from 1651-1660, Gerasimos in 1683, and a third Neophytos from 1689-1690. Konidares (TCE, I, 314) records Neophytos from 1644-1648, another from 1651-1678, Gerasimos in 1683, and another Neophytos from "1688-1690?"

5. Inclusive dates: Elected, 23 Aug. 1646-Mar. 1650, cited as deposed. Sathas, pp. 579; Alexoudes, *Leukoma*, p. 183; Germanos, VIII, 179. Sathas (p. 584) records Dionysios' deposition in Jan. 1650.

Dionysios was formerly Metropolitan of Chalkedon; elected, June 1638-1639; see Alexoudes, *Leukoma*, p. 110. Janin, *Dictionnaire*, XII, 275; Stavrides, *TEE*, XII, 54; Arampatzoglou, *Orthodoxia*, XIX, 120.

6. Inclusive dates: Elected, 14 Mar. 1646-1651; Sathas, p. 579; Germanos, VI, 118-19, n 3; Gritsopoulos, *TEE*, XI, 122; In *Archeion*, XXI, 123-24, Gritsopoulos extends Meletios' tenure until 1654.

7. Inclusive dates: Elected, Dec. 5, 1646-15 Sept. 1650, resigned. Sathas, pp. 580, 584; Laurent, *Dictionnaire*, XIII, 148.

8. Inclusive dates: 5 Dec. 1646-2 May 1649, elected Metropolitan of Monemvasia which he served until 1655 when he resigned; Gritsopoulos, *TEE*, IX, 45.

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CONSTANTINOPLE AND THE CORONATION OF CHARLES

By JAMES A. ARVITES

In a ceremony at St. Peter's basilica in Rome on Christmas Day 800, Pope Leo III proclaimed King Charles **Imperator Romanorum**. The coronation of Charles was the climax to the long series of Frankish interventions in Italy. In 753 Pope Stephen II, in urgent need of protection from the Lombards and desiring temporal sovereignty, asked the Franks to intervene in Italy.¹ During the next twenty years, despite two expeditions by Pepin the Short in aid of the papacy, nothing decisive had been achieved. But in 773 Charles, upon the request of the papacy, invaded Italy and conquered the Lombard Kingdom.² He then declared himself King of the Lombards and established the pope as temporal ruler over most of the newly acquired lands.³ Charles's goal was not to restore the western Roman empire, as events might indicate, but to remain independent from both empire and the papacy. In a letter in 799 Alcuin assured Charles that to be King of the Franks was far superior than being either pope or emperor.⁴

According to Einhard, Charles was completely surprised by the events that transpired on that Christmas Day in 800.⁵ He probably had misgivings about his new position in regard to Constantinople because legitimacy of the eastern emperors had never before been questioned in Europe.⁶ Even Charles himself had acknowledged that rulers of Byzantium were the legitimate successors of Constantine.⁷

Constantinople viewed the coronation of Charles, without its consent, as usurpation.⁸ The medieval mind in the ninth century could not conceive the existence of two separate empires.⁹ Pope Leo III and Charles tried to justify their position on the theory

that the imperial throne was vacant since the deposition of Constantine VI.¹⁰ In 797 Irene had overthrown her son and seized power as autocratic ruler of the East.¹¹ This unprecedented move was in sharp contrast to traditions of the Roman Empire, for no woman had ever before reigned with full imperial authority. Believing that the imperial throne was vacant, Charles ascended the throne of an undivided Roman empire as legal successor, not of Romulus Augustulus, but of Leo III, Heraklios, Justinian, Maurice, and Constantine VI.¹²

During the eighth and ninth centuries Constantinople was unable to provide adequate forces in the West to protect Byzantine interests because of the urgent need of all available manpower to deal with serious situations in Asia Minor and the Balkans.¹³ Therefore it was facile for the Franks to ridicule the inept position of the eastern emperors in Italy.¹⁴ Charles did recognize, however, that the Byzantines possessed a more advanced civilization than his own.¹⁵ The Byzantines showed a superior attitude in their diplomatic dealings with the "barbarians" of the West.¹⁶ The activities of Constantinople in Lombard affairs convinced Charles that he could not underestimate the power of the Eastern Empire.¹⁷

Relations between Charles and the Byzantine Empire had begun long before his coronation in 800. In 780 Irene, who was then ruling as regent for her young son Constantine VI, tried to re-establish friendly relations with both the papacy and the Franks. In the following year a marriage pact was agreed upon for the betrothal of ten year old Constantine to Charles's eldest daughter Rotrud, whom the Byzantines called Erythro.¹⁸ Contemporary western historian Paul the Deacon in a letter to Charles at this time wrote: "I rejoice that your beautiful daughter may go across the seas and receive the scepter in order that the strength of the Kingdom, through her, be directed to Asia."¹⁹

Irene probably made this diplomatic move in order to prevent any type of Frankish intervention in the revolt in Sicily in behalf of the rebel commander Elpidios. In 781 Elpidios, governor of Sicily, was accused of favoring the brothers of Leo the Khazar over Irene and her son as successor to the throne.

He was ordered to return to Constantinople because of this report. Elpidios responded to this command by instigating rebellion against the Empire in Sicily. The insurrection was not quickly dealt with owing to the urgent need of all available troops for the current campaign in Asia Minor against the Arabs. In 782, however, a Byzantine force under the patrician Theodore landed in Sicily. After many pitched battles the revolt was finally put down. Elpidios fled to Africa, where he was proclaimed "emperor of the Romans" by the Arabs.²⁰

In 787 Byzantine-Frankish relations cooled off as quickly as they had warmed up. Between 24 September and 13 October of that year the Seventh Ecumenical Council was held in Nicaea.²¹ The Latin translation of the proceeding of this meeting, which re-established image worship in the East, was greatly distorted from the original.²² Probably misunderstanding the decisions of the Nicene Council, Charles showed his opposition by breaking off the engagement of his daughter Rotrud to Constantine.²³ The Cambridge Medieval History presents an interesting theory that it was Irene, and not Charles, who broke off the engagement because she feared that her son, with Charles as his father-in-law, would seize control from her and reign as sole ruler.²⁴ Frankish sources, however, state that it was Charles who annulled the agreement, thus provoking war with the Byzantines.²⁵ Constantine reacted new chain of events by ordering the patrician Theodore, governor of Sicily, to invade the territory of the Beneventans.²⁶ The Franks successfully turned back this ill-conceived Byzantine invasion.²⁷ A truce was finally concluded in 798 between Irene and Charles in which Byzantion recognized Frankish lordship of Istria and Beneventum, while the Franks probably acknowledged the empress's holdings in Croatia.²⁸

In the winter of 794 Charles set his permanent place of residence at Aix-la-Chapelle.²⁹ This abandoned previous Frankish and Merovingian customs of having a traveling court throughout the provinces.³⁰ Charles probably broke with the tradition in order to imitate the customs and habits of Byzantine emperors.³¹ At Aix-la-Chapelle Charles planned construction of a *sacrum palatium*, which was almost identical to the sacred palace in Constantinople.³² Although he had never been to Con-

stantinople, he was well acquainted, from his envoys, with the buildings, churches, and palaces of that city.³³ San Vitale in Ravenna and the Greeks in Italy also probably provided him with valuable information concerning Byzantine architecture.³⁴

The blinding of Constantine VI and seizure of power by his mother Irene opened the way for events that transpired in Rome on Christmas Day 800. The Byzantine court received news of the coronation and Frankish imperial claims with silent contempt.³⁵ Constantinople viewed it as just another revolt by a minor person against central authority.³⁶ Theophanes, the only contemporary Byzantine historian to report the coronation, ridiculed the ceremony. Pope Leo III, according to Theophanes, was completely ignorant of proper ceremonial procedures because he anointed Charles "from head to toe."³⁷

During the troubled period the Byzantine Empire feared a Frankish attack on Sicily more than the coronation in Rome. Although Charles presumably abandoned that plan soon after his coronation, Constantinople did have knowledge of the planned naval expedition against the island.³⁸ In 798 Daniel, envoy of Michael, governor of Sicily, was received and dismissed with great honors by Charles.³⁹ Three years later a Sicilian named Leo, who held the rank of *spatharios*, fled Sicily and took refuge at Charles's court, where he remained until 811 when peace was finally concluded with Constantinople.⁴⁰ The question arises whether Charles was part of a rebellious plot in Sicily or had received these envoys during normal diplomatic communications.

Charles realized that in order to legalize his new position in the West, he had to have the recognition of Byzantium. In an attempt to attain that goal, a foreign policy was enacted that would not antagonize the Byzantine empire.⁴¹ Against the wishes of the papacy, Charles refused to call himself **imperator Romanum** because that title was used only by the Byzantine emperor.⁴² On 29 May 801, the title that appeared on a document issued by Charles, and one which he would use for the remainder of his reign was; *Karolus serenissimus augustus a Deo coronatus magnus pacificus imperator Romanum gubernans imperium, qui et per misericordiam Dei rex Francorum et Langobardorum*.⁴³ This title clearly eludes designation of Charles

as *imperator Romanorum*. Instead he was recognized as *imperator Romanum gubernans imperium*.⁴⁴ He believed that the Roman empire he ruled was Latin Christendom only and he alone ruled his empire in the same manner as the emperors of the East.⁴⁵

Recognizing that after Irene was gone the Byzantine empire would elect a male emperor whose claim to the imperial title would be undisputed in the East, Charles initiated negotiations with Constantinople. Accounts of the Frankish diplomatic move were recorded by Theophanes who wrote:

In this year (800-801), on 25th of December, Carolus, King of the Franks, was crowned by Pope Leo; and having planned to cross over to Sicily with a fleet, he changed his mind and chose rather to be married to Irene, sending ambassadors for this purpose, who arrived in the following year.⁴⁶

Charles believed that by marrying Irene, unity of western and eastern empires could be achieved.⁴⁷ It seems that this proposal had the blessings of the papacy.⁴⁸ Theophanes reports that Irene reacted favorably to the offer.⁴⁹ She hoped the union would help restore the ancient boundaries of the Roman empire.⁵⁰ After receiving a favorable reply to his proposal, Charles sent Jesse of Amiens and Count Helmgaut to Constantinople to conclude final negotiations with Irene.⁵¹

Many high ranking officials of the Byzantine court, including Irene's most trusted advisor, the eunuch Aetios, who himself was conspiring to seek the throne for his brother, were not in favor of that royal marriage. They feared the proposal would be a threat to the independence of the East. The severity of the situation convinced them that in order to maintain the rights and prestige of the Byzantine Empire against claims of a "western barbarian," a strong government, free of a woman ruler and her favorite, Aetios, was desperately needed.⁵²

On 31 October 802, Irene was overthrown by high ranking officials of her own court.⁵³ Charles's ambassadors, who were in Constantinople making final arrangements for a marriage pact, witnessed the palace revolt.⁵⁴ Leader of the conspirators was Nikephoros, Minister of Finance.⁵⁵ His two chief supporters,

whose co-operation was essential for success, were Niketas Triphyllios, Domestic of the scholarian guards, and his brother Leo, who held the important financial office of Sakellarios, the quaester Theoktistos, and many other patricians of the court.⁵⁷

On the night of 31 October the conspirators gained entrance into the palace on the pretext that Irene had summoned them to proclaim Nikephoros emperor because she feared there was grave danger of revolt by Aetios, who had been trying for some time to force her to raise his brother to the purple. Daring not to question the authority of such important men, the guards obeyed the presumed order, and gave their full support to Nikephoros. Irene was immediately placed under house arrest while news of the revolt, which had been completely carried out before midnight, was quickly spread to every section of the city. The next morning Patriarch Tarasios crowned Nikephoros emperor. The deposed empress was sent into exile, first to Prince's Island in the Propontis, and later to Lesbos, where she died within a year.⁵⁸

The Franks quickly realized that with Irene out of the picture, any chance of a union of the two empires through marriage was now impossible. In 803 the envoys of Nikephoros met with Charles at Salz, where proposals of peace were discussed.⁵⁹ The Byzantine envoys, after being dismissed, returned to Constantinople, by way of Rome, with a letter for Nikephoros.⁶⁰ The contents of that letter have not survived, but it is believed Charles requested recognition of the East of his imperial title.⁶¹ Nikephoros did not send a reply to the letter because either he did not want to acknowledge Charles as an equal or because he might have had objections to the proposed treaty.⁶² It was then that Nikephoros initiated a new policy of ignoring all Frankish communiqués and even went so far as to forbid communications between Patriarch Nikephoros and the papacy because Leo III supported Frankish claims.⁶³

The inevitable conflict that finally erupted between the Frankish and Byzantine empires was fought in the north Adriatic in Venetia. The Venetian lagoons, which stretched from Brenta to Isonzo, were an autonomous Byzantine territory.⁶⁴ In 742 home rule had been granted to the province by Constantin-

ople. From this time onward the affairs of Venetia were no longer in the control of the *magister militum*, who were imperial appointees, but were instead run by locally elected Dukes.⁶⁵ Constantinople probably granted her northern Adriatic province this new status as reward for participation in the recapture of Ravenna from the Lombards in 740.⁶⁶

It was at that time that the seat of Venetian government was moved to the island of Malamocco from Heracliana.⁶⁷ Malamocco soon became overcrowded and the excess population moved onto the islands known as *Rivus Altus* (Rialto), later the site of the city of Venice.⁶⁸ Malamocco was not the commercial center or the ecclesiastical seat of power of Venetia. Residence of the patriarch was at Grado and the center of trade at Torcello.⁶⁹ Venetia was of importance to the Byzantine Empire because it served as a market exchange for east-west trade.⁷⁰

The Venetian dukes remained loyal to Constantinople for the remainder of the eighth century. In 778 Duke Maurice appointed his son co-regent. This apparent move toward hereditary succession seems to have had Byzantine blessings.⁷¹

In the years immediately following his coronation, Charles tried to pressure the Byzantines into recognizing his title by having his agents instigate trouble in the Venetian province.⁷² The Italian conquests of Charles had greatly affected the peaceful development of Venetia. In the years 787-788 Charles overran Istria and transferred the church from the Patriarch of Grado to the See of Aquileia.⁷³ Such action was in accordance with an agreement with the papacy in 774 in which Charles promised to subjugate both Istria and Venetia, and place them under the spiritual dominion of Rome.⁷⁴

In the early part of the ninth century Charles gained the support of John, Patriarch of Grado. Greatly displeased by this recent event, the Duke of Venetia sent his son Maurice, with a fleet, to Grado to deal with the rebellious patriarch. John was captured, and as punishment for his treasonable conduct, he was thrown headlong out of a tower of his palace by Maurice. "His death," according to John the Deacon, "caused great grief to his fellow-citizens for he was slain as an innocent man, and he had governed the Church of Grado for thirty-six years."⁷⁵

This brutal act aroused dissatisfaction against the government. Fortunatus of Trieste succeeded the martyred patriarch in 803.⁷⁶ Actively involved in politics, the new patriarch formed a plot to avenge the death of his predecessor.⁷⁷ But his plan seems to have been detected, and Fortunatus fled for safety to the Frankish court.⁷⁸ In the meantime two Venetian tribunes, Obelerius of Malamocco and a certain Felix, together with other discontented nobles, fled to the city of Treviso on the mainland.⁷⁹ There they elected Obelerius as their leader.⁸⁰ Owing to the lack of surviving sources we do not know whether these refugees were accomplices of Fortunatus or acting on their own. In 804 the exiled rebels and their partisans in Venetia did succeed in overthrowing the government at Malamocco.⁸¹

This rebellion was clearly anti-Byzantine in nature. The first thing the new dukes did was attack the imperial province of Dalmatia.⁸² Venetia probably contemplated the idea of making itself independent of both Franks and Byzantines.⁸³ But the Venetians quickly realized that this plan would be impracticable because of existing conditions.⁸⁴

Obelerius and his two brothers, Beatus and Valentine, held ducal offices for the next six years.⁸⁵ During this period there was continuous struggle for power in Venetia between the Byzantine and Frankish parties.⁸⁶ What part the dukes played in these confrontations is very obscure. A thirteenth century French chronicler says that Obelerius had married one of Charles's daughters and was a strong supporter of the Franks in Venetian affairs.⁸⁷ Whether this highly unlikely story is true, we do not know. It is known, however, that Obelerius did accept the title of *spatharios* from the Byzantine Admiral Niketas, and his brother Beatus went to Constantinople and later returned holding the office of Consul.⁸⁸ In all probability the Venetian dukes were fence-sitters, jumping on the side of whoever looked strongest at a particular time.

One thing that is certain during this very obscure period is that Venetia and Dalmatia became part of the Frankish empire for a brief time. During Christmas 805, Obelerius (Willeri) and Beatus, dukes of Venetia, Paul, duke of Zara, Donatus, bishop of that same city, and ambassadors of the Dalmatians visited the Frankish court and presented Charles with many gifts.⁸⁹ "The

emperor", according to contemporary annals, "settled the affairs of the dukes and the people of Venice as well as the affairs of Dalmatia."⁹⁰ It might be true, as J. B. Bury states, that Venetia submitted to Charles in hope that he would remove the Frankish embargo on her trade, which had been in effect since 787.⁹¹ Charles probably ruled those duchies as fiefs. In the following year (February 806), Charles divided his empire among his three sons.⁹² Venetia, Istria, and Dalmatia were assigned to Pepin.⁹³

Byzantine reaction to this new state of affairs was prompt. In the spring of 807 Nikephoros sent a fleet under the command of the patrician Niketas to restore imperial authority in the rebellious dependencies.⁹⁴ The Byzantine fleet, which had not been seen in these waters in a long time, without bloodshed quickly regained the allegiance of those areas: first Dalmatia, and then Venetia were subdued.⁹⁵ The small Frankish squadron based at Comacchio offered no opposition.⁹⁶ The Patriarch Fortunatus, who had just returned to Grado, fled again to Charles' court after sighting Niketas' ships.⁹⁷ The imperial fleet anchored in Venetian waters while Niketas attempted to settle the pressing matters at hand. On Obelerius was probably bestowed the office of *spatharios* at this time, after his consent that his brother, Beatus, be sent to Constantinople as hostage.⁹⁸

Although the *Royal Frankish Annals* mention Niketas and the Byzantine fleet just once, they do give a strong indication that Frankish control of Venetia and Dalmatia had been lost. They state that:

Emperor Nikephoros dispatched a fleet under the command of the patrician Niketas to reconquer Dalmatia. And the envoys, who about four years earlier had been sent to the king of the Persians (the Caliph), sailed through the very anchoring places of Greek ships and returned to Treviso, into the shelter of the port, without being noticed by one of the enemies.⁹⁹

This narrative makes it quite evident that Charles' ambassadors were almost captured by the Byzantine fleet, which had just recently reasserted imperial control in the north Adriatic.

Before Niketas returned to Constantinople, a negotiated peace with the Franks was obtained. King Pepin of Italy, powerless at sea against the Byzantine fleet, agreed to a truce which was to last until August, 808.¹⁰⁰

The next year (808) another Byzantine fleet, under the command of Paul, strategos of Kephalaria, appeared in the northern Adriatic.¹⁰⁰ After first stopping at Dalmatia, the fleet sailed on to Venetia, where it anchored for the winter.¹⁰¹ In the following spring (809) the imperial flotilla made an unsuccessful assault on the Po Valley market city of Comacchio.¹⁰³ It seems that the Venetians probably took part in this attack, although Obelerius was opposed to any type of action while his brother Beatus favored it.¹⁰⁴ After this setback Paul attempted to open peace negotiations with Pepin, but all his efforts were frustrated by the Venetian dukes, Obelerius and Beatus.¹⁰⁵ After learning of an assassination plot by local Venetian leaders against him, Paul returned to Kephalaria.¹⁰⁶ With the Byzantine fleet gone, the ungrateful inhabitants of the lagoons were not left unprotected.

In the autumn of 809 Pepin invaded Venetia, from the north and south, and by both land and sea.¹⁰⁷ This attack was probably provoked by either the Byzantine assault on Comacchio or Pepin might have been invited to intervene by pro-Frankish dukes in Venetia.¹⁰⁸ The invaders quickly overran the lagoons, capturing and destroying Chioggia, Palestrina, Albiola, Heracleiana, and Malamocco.¹⁰⁹ In 810 a peace treaty was concluded in which the dukes submitted to the authority of Pepin, and agreed to pay the Franks a yearly tribute of thirty-six pounds of uncoined silver.¹¹⁰ The victorious Franks next moved by sea against the coastal areas of Dalmatia. But the Byzantine fleet under Paul again appeared on the scene, and the Frankish flotilla was forced to retire.¹¹¹

New Frankish pressure on the Byzantines in Venetia brought a quick response from Constantinople. Nikephoros sent Arsaphios, an official of *spatharios* rank, to negotiate a truce with Pepin. He was entrusted with the authority not only to achieve peace in Italy with Pepin, but also with Charles. Learning of Pepin's death (8 July 810), Arsaphios, upon his arrival in Italy, proceeded to the court of Charles at Aix-la-Chapelle.¹¹²

For the first time in seven years Charles was in good position to negotiate seriously for recognition of his imperial title. In the following spring (811) a formal peace treaty was finally agreed upon. By terms of this agreement Charles surrendered Venetia, Istria, Liburnia, and any cities in Dalmatia which were still in Frankish possession to Nikephoros in return for Byzantine recognition of his imperial title.¹¹³

Accompanied by Frankish envoys, Bishop Haido of Basel, Count Hugo of Tours, and the Lombard, Aio of Friuli, Arsaphios returned to Constantinople with the peace proposals and a letter for Nikephoros from Charles. Also at this time the Franks released into Byzantine custody the *Spatharios* Leo who fled to Charles' court, from Sicily, ten years before, and Obelerius, duke of Venetia.¹¹⁴

While on his journey home Arsaphios stopped in Venetia to settle the affairs of that troubled territory. The disloyal dukes were deposed and replaced by a loyal party headed by Agnellus Pareciacus, a firm supporter of Byzantine interests during the recent crisis.¹¹⁵

When the Frankish ambassadors arrived at Constantinople they were received not by Nikephoros, but by his son-in-law, Michael I Rangabe (811-813), who had succeeded him as emperor in October 811.¹¹⁶ The Byzantines had suffered a disastrous defeat at the hands of the Bulgars (26 July 811), and Nikephoros and his army had been destroyed.¹¹⁷ The new emperor agreed to all the Frankish proposals. Charles' embassy then returned home accompanied by the Byzantine envoys, Metropolitan Michael of Philadelphia, *Spatharios* Theognostos, and Arsaphios.¹¹⁸

When the Byzantine delegation arrived at Aix-la-Chapelle, they were greeted with great jubilation. In a ceremony in the church chapel Charles gave them a copy of the treaty to be given to Michael. In Greek, the Byzantine envoys then proclaimed Charles "Emperor and Basileus." Charles, who at last achieved his most wanted desire, then signed the treaty. On their way back to Constantinople the eastern delegates stopped in Rome, where Pope Leo III gave them a second copy of the treaty, one which the papacy probably subscribed.¹¹⁹

Charles sent Bishop Amalar of Trier and Abbot Peter of the monastery of Nonantola to Constantinople with the signed copy of the treaty.¹²⁰ They were received, however, not by Michael, but by Leo V the Armenian, who had recently deposed him.¹²¹ He dismissed the Frankish envoys and sent them back to Charles, accompanied by *Spatharios* Christopher and the Deacon Gregory, with a ratified text of the treaty.¹²² But by the time the two embassies reached Aix-la-Chapelle, Charles was dead (28 January 814).¹²³ It was Louis the Pious who received the copy of the treaty and the royal gifts which had been intended for his father. He sent the Bishop Norbert of Reggio and Count Richoin of Padua back to Leo V with his confirmation of the pact.¹²⁴

The Byzantine envoys, by saluting Charles as *basileus*, declared the eastern emperor's official recognition of the "King of the Franks and Lombards" as western emperor. There were now two Roman emperors where, in theory, there could be just one Roman Empire. It should be noted, however, that the last form of Charles' imperial title issued in 813 no longer used the expression *Roman gubernans Imperium before Rex Francorum et Langobardorum*, but instead used *Imperator et Augustus*. This seems to be a retreat by Charles from his earlier claims of the Byzantine Empire, probably in a move to please his imperial rival in Constantinople.¹²⁵

According to J. B. Bury, the act of A.D. 812, in theory at least, revived the political setup of the fifth century. "Michael I and Charles, Leo V and Louis the Pious, stood to one another as Arcadius to Honorius, as Valentinian III to Theodosios II."¹²⁶ Once again the borders of *imperium Romanum* extended from the mountains of Armenia to the Atlantic.

This theoretical union of the two Roman Empires was, however, unrealistic, even to Charles and Leo themselves. By the ninth century the civilizations of the Byzantine East and the Romano-Germanic West were so heterogeneous, and the interests of the rulers so different, it was impossible to think of any type of co-operation between the two empires. In addition to the political and cultural distrust, there also existed contrasting views and opposition in regard to religious dogma. Charles

himself, in his famous letter of 813, speaks of two empires united in fraternal co-existence by common love of Christ.¹²⁷

Constantinople had, with great reluctance, conceded the "imperial dignity" for which the Franks made a substantial concession in regard to Byzantine rights and claims in Venetia and Dalmatia. The Byzantine emperors did not consider this concession on their part to be permanent. Michael II, for example, addressed Louis the Pious as "King of the Franks," and only grudgingly did he add, "whom they call their emperor."¹²⁸ The Byzantines then recognized Charles as emperor of western Christendom only. One hundred and fifty years later, in his *De administrando imperio*, the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitos wrote: "This Charles the Elder, was sole ruler over all the western kingdoms, and reigned as emperor in Great Francia."¹²⁹ In otherwards, the Byzantines recognized Charles's "imperial status" as long as the boundaries of his empire were preserved. According to the official view of Constantinople this "imperial status" terminated after the partitions of 844 and 855, although this was not the official view until 871.¹³⁰ After this time Byzantine policy was to decline recognition to western claimants of the imperial title, except in instances when there was some particular goal or object to be obtained.¹³¹ Thus as J.B. Bury maintains, the legitimacy of the Byzantine imperial title and the power that accompanied it to justify their recognizing other imperial titles, gave Constantinople an advantage, which was unimportant to themselves, but was considered very valuable by other concerned parties.¹³²

FOOTNOTES

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9. *Ibid.*
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14. Heinrich Fichtenau, **The Carolingian Empire: The Age of Charlemagne**, trans. Peter Munz (New York, 1964), p. 66.
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*
18. Theophanes, "Chronographia," in *Patrologiae cursus completus . . . series Graeca*, ed. J. P. Migne. CVIII (Paris, 1857-1887), AM 6274. Hereafter cited as Theophanes; **Royal Frankish Annals**, 781r.

19. MGH, Poeta, I, p. 50.
20. Theophanes, AM 6274; Royal Frankish Annals, 781.
21. Theophanes, AM 6280.
22. Anastos, C.M.H., IV, 1, p. 87.
23. Royal Frankish Annals, 788r.
24. Anastos, C.M.H., IV, 1, p. 87.
25. Royal Frankish Annals, 788r.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.
28. Bury, History, p. 317; Royal Frankish Annals, 798.
29. Royal Frankish Annals, 795r.
30. Fichtenau, Carolingian Empire, p. 67.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid.
34. A substantial number of Byzantine Greeks lived in southern Italy and Sicily during the Middle Ages. See Peter Charanis, "On the Question of the Hellenization of Sicily and Southern Italy during the Middle Ages," *American Historical Review*, LII (1946), pp. 74-86.
35. Fichtenau, Carolingian Empire, p. 171.
36. Constantinople believed that Charles had already acknowledged the sovereignty of the only "true Roman emperor" by his acceptance of the Byzantine title of *patricius*; although it should be noted that this title was given to Charles by Pope Stephen in 754. See Werner Ohnsorge, "The Coronation and Byzantium," in *The Coronation of Charlemagne: What Did it Signify?*, ed. Richard Sullivan (Lexington, 1959), p. 84; Fichtenau, Carolingian Empire, p. 171; Royal Frankish Annals, 754.
37. Theophanes, AM 6289.
38. Ibid., AM 6293.
39. Royal Frankish Annals, 799.
40. Frankish sources say that Leo was an ambassador sent to Charles by Irene to confirm a peace treaty between the two empires. Leo might have had knowledge of the planned palace revolt against Irene, and fearing for his own safety, took refuge at the Frankish court. See Royal Frankish

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- Annals, 801,811; Bury, *History*, p. 318; Thomas Hodgkin, *Italy and Her Invaders, 774-814*, Vol. VIII, *The Frankish Empire* (Oxford, 1889), pp. 211-12.
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 42. Walter Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages* (London, 1970), p. 114.
 43. J. F. Bohmer, E. Muhlbacher, and J. Lechner, eds., *Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter den Karolingern 751-918* (Innsbruck, 1908), p. 116. Hereafter cited as BML, Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages*, p. 114.
 44. BML, p. 167.
 45. Ullmann, *Papal Government* p. 114.
 46. Theophanes, AM 6293.
 47. *Ibid.*, AM 6293, 6294.
 48. *Ibid.*, AM 6294.
 49. *Ibid.*
 50. *Ibid.*
 51. *Royal Frankish Annals*, 802.
 52. Theophanes, AM 6295.
 53. *Ibid.*
 54. *Royal Frankish Annals*, 803.
 55. Theophanes, AM 6295.
 56. *Ibid.*
 57. *Ibid.*
 58. *Ibid.*
 59. *Royal Frankish Annals*, 803.
 60. *Ibid.*
 61. Bury, *History*, p. 321.
 62. Ganshof, *Carolingians*, p. 179; Bury, *History*, p. 321.
 63. George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, trans. by Joan Hussey (New Brunswick, 1969), p. 198; Hodgkin, *Italy*, p. 222.
 64. Ganshof, *Carolingians*, p. 179.
 65. Bury, *History*, p. 321.
 66. *Vita Hadriani*, PL, XCVI cols. 1172-1180.
 67. Bury, *History* p. 321.
 68. *Ibid.*
 69. John the Deacon, "Chronicon Venetum," PL, CXXXIX,

col. 896. Hereafter cited as John the Deacon.

70. Bury, *History*, p. 322.
71. John the Deacon, col. 896.
72. Ganshof, *Carolingians*, p. 179.
73. BML, p. 74; Bury, *History*, p. 323.
74. *Ibid.*
75. John the Deacon, col. 896.
76. *Ibid.*, col. 897.
77. Hodgkin, *Italy*, p. 229.
78. *Ibid.*
79. John the Deacon, col. 897.
80. *Ibid.*
81. *Ibid.*
82. *Ibid.*
83. Bury, *History*, p. 323.
84. John the Deacon, col. 898.
85. Obelerius is called Willeri by Frankish annalists. See *Royal Frankish Annals*, 806.
86. Hodgkin, *Italy*, p. 230.
87. *Ibid.*
88. John the Deacon, col. 898.
89. *Royal Frankish Annals*, 806.
90. *Ibid.*
91. Bury, *History*, p. 323.
92. *Ibid.*
93. *Royal Frankish Annals*, 801.
94. *Royal Frankish Annals*, 805; Bury, *History*, p. 324.
95. John the Deacon, col. 898.
96. Bury, *History*, p. 324.
97. John the Deacon, col. 898.
98. *Ibid.*, cols. 898-99.
99. *Royal Frankish Annals*, 806.
100. *Ibid.*, 807.
101. *Ibid.*, 809.
102. *Ibid.*
103. *Ibid.*
104. W. Carew Hazlitt, *Venetian Republic*, Vol. I, A.D. 409-1457 (New York, 1966), p. 43.
105. *Royal Frankish Annals*, 809.

106. Theophanes makes no mention of the Venetian campaigns.
107. *Royal Frankish Annals*, 810; *Bury, History, Eastern Roman Empire*, p. 324.
108. G. Ostrogorsky, "The Palaeologi," *C.M.H.*, IV, 1, p. 259.
109. Tenth century Byzantine historian Constantine Porphyrogenitus says that Malamocco was besieged for six months before it finally fell. See Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, trans. R.J.H. Jenkins, and ed. by Gy. Moravcsik (Washington, 1967), p. 109.
110. *Ibid.*
111. *Royal Frankish Annals*, 810.
112. *Ibid.*
113. *BML*, p. 202; *Royal Frankish Annals*, 810, 811.
114. *Royal Frankish Annals*, 811.
115. John the Deacon, cols. 899-900.
116. *Royal Frankish Annals*, 811.
117. Theophanes, *AM* 6303.
118. *Royal Frankish Annals*, 812.
119. Ganshof, *Carolingians*, p. 180; *Royal Frankish Annals*, 813.
120. *Royals Frankish Annals*, 813.
121. *Ibid.*
122. Leo V might have asked Charles for military aid against the Bulgars. See *Annales Laurissenses Minores*, *MGM*, *SS*, I, p. 122.
123. *Royal Frankish Annals*, 814.
124. Some sources say that Richoin was the Count of Poitiers, and Bishop Norbert was from Reggio in Lombardy. See *Annales Laureshamenses*, *MGM*, *SS*, I, p. 57; *Son of Charlemagne: A Contemporary Life of Louis the Pious*, trans, and ed. Allen Cabaniss (Syracuse, 1961), p. 57; *Royal Frankish Annals*, 814.
125. *PL*, *XCVIII*, col. 544.
126. *Bury, History*, p. 325.
127. Ohnsorge, *Coronation*, p. 90.
128. Jenkins, *Imperial Centuries*, p. 114.
129. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, p. 121.
130. Jenkins, *Imperial Centuries*, p. 114.
131. *Bury, History*, p. 326.
132. *Ibid.*

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GREEKS AND LATINS ON THIRTEENTH CENTURY CYPRUS

By MILTIADES B. EFTHIMIOU

A study of the Latin Empire of Constantinople offers to the historian an opportunity to see the deterioration of relations between the Latin West and the Greek East at a time when the Eastern Empire was already in decline and dependent upon the Latin West for its own defense. A study of the island of Cyprus under the Lusignan dynasty also presents an appropriate example of the further subjugation of the Greek Byzantine-Cypriot to the Latin conqueror. This historical fact should not surprise anyone inasmuch as the position and resources of the island eventually involved the island in the destiny of the Crusaders either in the Levant or in Anatolia. One need only look at a map of Cyprus to notice that Cape Andreas, the easternmost tip of the island, lies only a day's sail from the coast of Syria less than seventy miles away; the northern coast of the island is forty miles from the coast of Anatolia. For centuries Cyprus was a way-station for pilgrim traffic to the Holy Land. Since the time of the First Crusade, ships and supplies were intermittently provided to the Crusaders, while at the same time relations with the Moslems were not unfriendly. The growing penetration of Cyprus by the Western powers can be noted in the grant of commercial privileges in Crete and Cyprus made to the Venetians by Manuel Komnenos in 1148. This gesture, so full of consequences for the future, came when Manuel was seeking the alliance of the Venetians against the Normans who had captured the island of Corfu.¹ In 1155 or 1156 a French adventurer, Renaud de Chatillon, who had married Constance, princess of Antioch, years before, launched an expedition against Cyprus. The invaders burned towns and churches,

multilated the inhabitants (both lay and clergy), took gold, pillaged and performed a "criminal rape" of the island, according to William of Tyre,² who reasoned that it might have been a justifiable pillaging if it had been Christian against Moslem, for this was the age of the Crusades and the Latin kingdoms in the Holy Land.³

Even before this time there had been Western penetration of Cyprus: Erik the Good of Denmark had landed here on 10 July 1103, on his way to the Holy Land; the Doge of Venice, Domenigo Michiel, had come to Cyprus in 1123; and two Maronite monks had been elevated to patriarchs in 1121 and 1141, respectively, and had become abbots of the monastery of St. John Chrysostom at Koutzeventi. The celebrated coming of Richard the Lionhearted to Cyprus was the last and most important event for Latin domination of the island.

The question that underlies the problem between Latin West and Greek East is one of interpretation. The very fact that pronouncements by the pontiffs in the thirteenth century gave rise to such acute antagonisms raises two possibilities for consideration. The first possibility is that East and West simply fell into self-contradictions regarding ecclesiastical political theory. In that case, the very nature of source material will probably ensure that conflicting interpretations of their ideas continue to plague scholars. The other possibility is that modern historians have not yet penetrated deeply enough into the texture of thirteenth-century thought, possibly out of fear of opening old wounds or even of inflicting new ones. This writer is concerned with this second possibility, believing that, on a philosophical plane, science progresses not so much by the accumulation of new evidence, as by the acquisition of fresh insights, which grasp the relevance of evidence from a new point of view. Scholars who return to the battlefield have not wasted their time belaboring a dead issue but have made the question itself a living and growing idea. Their work has been enhancing, and continued discussion and meditation on the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade in terms of West-East relations promise to be valuable and even thrilling. Most recently, a few scholars have attempted to understand the motives behind these relations. They have taken into consideration the words and phrases,

whose meaning remains the same for century after century, and have interpreted the concepts that they signified. These scholars have thus attempted to disregard the political, diplomatic, and economic preoccupations of earlier historians and have highlighted the friction between the emotions of the people and the calculations of responsible leaders in the thirteenth century. This effort to see events through the eyes of participants has been called "interior history" and its leading exponent is Paul Alphandery.⁴

The island of Cyprus becomes a prime example for modern scholarship on the Fourth Crusade. An analysis of the psychology of the crusading movement together with the sociological aspects, the hagiography, and the eschatology helps one see the currents of thought and emotions behind the Latin fervor to dominate. The present study attempts to view Constantinople and Cyprus in this new dimension: the subjugation of one group of peoples to another in the name of unity, in which the great mystery concerning the Christian universe and its salvation is solved. The facts presented seem to emphasize one important point: the Crusades and the Latin states in the East sought the ultimate unity, the destruction of evil and the reign of God. Before unity could be realized, however, the East had to be firmly in Christian hands and in papal hands. The Greeks, it was felt, stood in the way of this unity. The relationship between the Church and the Imperium was not, therefore, fortuitous, but essential. The medieval thirteenth-century mind must be studied on its own terms, not only from an economic or political point of view, which the modern, secular-minded student of history seems to comprehend best, but from an analysis of the psychology of Latin overtures to the Greek East.⁵ To view the diversion question, for example, only in terms of treason theories as a triumph of human selfish passions imposes modern stereotypes upon the past. If it is true that the problems of church and state are still prevalent today, then medieval concepts are in constant danger of distortion by defining them in language that is overladen with specifically modern connotations. If one analyzes the theories concerning the Latin conquest of the East,⁶ he will see that the difficulty lies in the use of inadequate modern terminology to characterize medieval ideas.

In commonplace discussion current words, such as state, dualism, theocracy, or sovereignty, in addition to Latin and Greek phraseology, can present problems difficult to overcome.

Another difficulty is one of thought rather than language—the anachronistic attempt to force medieval thought into the mold of modern concepts of sovereignty. In the study of Constantinople and Cyprus, the historian will readily note that the attempt to view papal pronouncements as static formulations of law, which would certainly make them more intelligible, would be misleading. Rather, they should be seen as dynamic attempts to bring about change in the existing Greek system and to achieve eventual unity of the mystical body of Christ. Cyprus, in particular, demonstrates that in modern interpretations of thirteenth-century papal thought consent was the objective. The intent was to bring about effective change in the existing structure of laws and rights. By approaching the political and ecclesiastical thought of the thirteenth-century popes with these considerations, one can see that their decretals were consistent with the medieval ideal of papal-world-monarchy removed, however, from any modern theories of sovereignty. In their pontificates, the popes issued pronouncements that seem, at first glance, to be uninhibited assertions of an extreme theocratic doctrine.

In the late twelfth century from the time of Pope Celestine III, who ordered the Archdeacon of Laodicea to organize the Latin Church of Cyprus,⁷ popes repeatedly described themselves as rulers set between God and man. Aimery, who succeeded his brother, Guy de Lusignan, in April of 1194 and who was crowned by Henry VI as “Constable of Jerusalem and King of Cyprus,” aided the papal plan when he charged his own chancellor Alan, Archdeacon of Lydda, to offset the recalcitrant Greek clergy by organizing the Latin Church. When Richard I arrived at Cyprus on 6 May 1191, he found Latin clergy and monks established in dispersed areas and monasteries on the island. With these tools—the Latin clergy, a French king, and Roman officials—the rationale for *cuius regio eius religio* (the ruler of the region determines its religion) would occur. The pope’s intention in the East was to base the Church of Cyprus, as well as that of the Latin Empire, on the Roman model. The two delegates of

the pope preceeded to organize Cyprus into an archdiocese with three suffragan dioceses.⁸ This act was obviously an extension of the Gelasian thought that the priesthood was as superior to kingship as the souls is to the body. Alan became Archbishop of the Cathedral Chapter of Nicosia. The Archdeacon of Laodicea was elected to the see of Paphos. Although the identity of the other sees is unknown, in a bull dated 13 December 1196, the pope laid down rules and regulations for each diocese and for members of religious and secular orders and commissions. The bull was generally intended to return the island and its inhabitants, in the pope's own words, to the bosom of the Roman Church from which they had been alienated for so many years.⁹

On Christmas Day, 1200, four years before the sack of Constantinople, Innocent III summoned his cardinals to a secret consistory and read to them a *Deliberatio* asserting that the Empire pertained to the Roman See "first and last, principally and finally"—principally because the Empire had been transferred to the West from Constantinople by the papacy and finally because the emperor was anointed, crowned and invested with the Empire by the pope.¹⁰ This very same year, the emperor of Constantinople, Alexios III, appealed to Pope Innocent III. If the pope would help him to recover Cyprus by excommunicating Aimery, Alexios would give aid to the Crusaders. The pope refused, stating that Byzantium had already lost Cyprus when Richard I had conquered it. The most important objective now, said the pope, was the recovery of Jerusalem; hence, to divert forces of the king of Cyprus from the Crusade to the defense of his kingdom would be undesirable.¹¹

While the popes in the ecclesiastical and secular politics of this age were guided throughout their pontificates by theocratic principles as seen from their decretals, at no time did the popes ever assert simply and lucidly that they were acting by virtue of a supreme temporal authority that was inherent in the pontifical office. In the correspondence or decretals cited and investigated, when the pope mediated in a feudal dispute in Constantinople or on Cyprus, the reason given was always a question of impropriety, a breach of a solemn oath, or a threat to the peace of Christendom. All of these matters were the proper concern of the pope as head of the Church. Yet, at the same time, the

papal intent was a conciliatory one: to avoid judgmental decrees which belonged to the local rulers and to avoid the tendency to usurp the rights of secular rulers because the powers of kings came from God. The contrast between these two positions of thought became the story of thirteenth-century policy. The problem of historians has constantly been one of reconciling these two positions. Even if one succeeds in avoiding the problems of language, many real problems of thought are left to unravel. If the pope inherited the fullness of the power of Christ Who had been both Priest and King, as Innocent III often liked to maintain, how could any assertion of political authority on his part constitute a usurpation? If, in the Greek sense, the emperor of Constantinople is the representative of God over God's kingdom on earth, and he is responsible for the Church as a kind of mediator between God and man on earth (as Eusebios envisioned it—a "vice-regent" of God),¹² how could any assertion of religious authority on his part constitute a usurpation?

In October of 1220, when the fact that the Latins were seeking complete control of the island was evident, a Council of Limassol at Lemosos took place. The Council decided that the Latin Church would be granted the tithes of all domain and baronial lands. Temporal lordship of the Latin Church was confirmed by Pope Honorius III to Pelagius, the papal delegate,¹³ and the following articles were adopted:¹⁴

1. Tithes on all land belonging to crown or barons were to be paid to the Latin Church in accordance with the usage and questions of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

2. Services and dues (*chevagia* and *dimos*) owed to the crown by villeins on estates of any Latin Church were to go to that Church. Priests and deacons of the Greek Church would be free of the *chevagia* and *angaria* (*corvée*) or poll-tax, but the Greek clergy would still pay obeisance to their Latin ordinary.

3. Greek priests and deacons would not move from one *casale* to another, as long as the excess of clergy prevailed.

4. No Greek would receive ordination without his Latin lord's consent.

5. A Greek who was ordained outside the island without his

lord's knowledge might return after suspension. With the consent of his lord, he could be taken back into servitude.

6. No Greek could become a monk or a lay brother without his lord's consent.

7. Greek abbots could be canonically elected only with the assent of the lord of the area, and with the confirmation by the Latin ordinary; the abbot so elected could not be removed from his abbey unless it were due to some offence judged by the due process of law; in all, abbots and monks would be obedient to the Latin ordinary.

8. Greek churches and monasteries should remain in possession of any benefactions or properties granted them by Latin lords.

9. When Greek priests or deacons moved from one casale to another with permission of the Latin ordinary, other Greeks should be appointed in their stead.

Further control was implied when Pope Honorius III, in a letter to the queen, the barons, and the knights of Cyprus, directed that the Latin clergy of the island were to retain all properties which were previously held by Greek clergy and insisted that the secular leaders and authorities respect these possessions of the Church.¹⁵ Prior to this, Pope Honorius wrote to the Patriarch of Jerusalem and the archbishops of Tyre and Caesarea requiring that they provide that all Greek bishops render obedience to the Roman Church in accordance with the agreement between the queen of Cyprus and the prelates of her kingdom.¹⁶ Yet this whole arrangement was distasteful to the queen and her barons. The reason is obvious. The arrangement was too favorable to the Latin clergy, who were growing in strength and whose lust for power and land was becoming all too apparent. Straining relations further was the stipulation that the Greek clergy were to be ordained by Greek bishops only with the consent of the Latin bishop and the temporal lord of the district.¹⁷ In fact, the whole situation led to an open break between the queen and her co-regent, Philip d' Ibelin,¹⁸ who at first received exemption from the payment of tithes which before had been paid to the Greeks and now, according to the decision at Lemosos (Articles two and eight), were paid

to the Latin Church. He now found that he would have to pay again, and the queen upheld this decision. Philip and his barons, flatly refusing to pay, defended the Greek priests, saying that they were being fleeced in order to satisfy the greed of the Latin clergy. Philip reported to the *Haute Cour* that the Latins were hated by the people, were seditious to the realm, and sold the Eucharist for money, etc.¹⁹ Soon after this announcement the queen left Cyprus for Syria, where she married Bohemund, heir of Antioch-Tripoli and the future Bohemund V.²⁰ The important factor affecting all future Latin-Greek relations on Cyprus was that the Greeks were permitted to retain four out of fourteen ancient dioceses on the condition that these titularies would function only under the supervision of the Latin prelate in whose diocese their bishoprics were located.²¹ This act obviously showed recognition of the fact that the Greeks could not be totally converted, yet could not be left without leaders and pastors. These pastors, however, at all cost were to be deprived of all authority and could exercise their offices only under the supervision of their Latin ordinaries. The Greeks appear to have acquiesced to the Latin demands, reasoning that no harm would be done as long as canons, rites, and traditions of the faith were not violated.

This compliance was in the best tradition of papal Rome: that, indeed, a 'theocratic' doctrine governed human affairs, that two orders of jurisdiction were needed for the governance of these said affairs—a secular one and a spiritual one; and that normally each order ought to judge according to its own laws, through its own courts in cases appropriate to its own jurisdiction. Cyprus, however, becomes the classic example of the disputed question, especially in thirteenth-century policy: Even if the popes acknowledged the need for two orders of jurisdiction, how did they conceive the relationship between these two orders? Above all, did they regard the secular order as so subordinated to the spiritual that the head of the ecclesiastical hierarchy could take control of matters and determine the entire range of human activity? Presumably, a simple, unqualified 'theocratic' doctrine would have asserted that the pope, as God's vicar on earth, possessed an absolute and unlimited authority over all men and all their affairs. In the case of

Cyprus, he heard appeals from their courts, enacted secular legislation, settled disputes between temporal barons as a superior lord over them, abolished the structure of secular offices altogether, and governed the island through clerical delegates. Interestingly enough, popes claimed some of these rights but not others. Since the shedding of blood by priests was illicit, the popes always had to recognize the need for a permanently enduring order of temporal rulers who could actually exercise the 'power of the sword.' In 1229 Patriarch Germanos of Constantinople sent a letter addressed to the Syrians and Greeks of Cyprus.²² The patriarch warned the Cypriots that by submitting to the Latins and by following their innovations, they, too, became heretics because:

1. The Roman Church had broken away from the decisions of the Ecumenical Councils;
2. The Roman Church had invented new dogmas; and
3. The Roman Church had set up the pope in the place of Christ.

According to a narrative of the time,²⁴ in 1231 thirteen monks were burned at the stake by the Latins. The next day a dominican friar called Andrew was dispatched to the monastery of Kantara, where many frightened Cypriot monks had gathered, in order that he might debate the question whether the Church should use leavened or unleavened bread in the Eucharist. When the monks refused to accept the Roman tradition of unleavened bread, they were thrown into prison for three years in consequence to the charge by the Haute Cour, a council of barons and some clergy who had holdings and lands on the island, that these monks were a menace to the peace of the island.²⁵ On 9 April 1240, the king of Cyprus received a letter from Pope Gregory IX demanding that no Greek cleric be allowed to celebrate the Eucharist in his respective diocese until he renounced his heresies, especially concerning the use of leavened bread in Communion.²⁶ Certain barons who upheld the Greek usage and form were charged with treason by the Haute Cour and in the name of the pope were disinherited of their properties on Cyprus. Their fiefs were granted to supporters of the king and

the papacy.²⁷ This grant was just one case where royal jurisdiction corresponded to the exercise of the temporal jurisdiction of the papacy. In other words, any temporal intervention of the papacy outside of central Italy could very well be regarded as an *indirect* consequence of its spiritual authority. This authority was not unusual for thirteenth-century pontiffs who by now firmly believed that powers originally conferred on the papacy by divine grant were not limited to the spiritual sphere but rather involved temporal jurisdiction. Because of this authority, Cyprus, at best for a short period of time, had a reprieve, a period of filial relations with Rome in the middle of the thirteenth century. The situation involved two enemies of the papacy: John Vatatzes, emperor of the exiled Byzantine Empire now situated at Nicaea, and Frederick II Hohenstaufen, son of Henry VI. Since both were hostile to the papacy, as well as to the Latin Empire of Constantinople, the papacy saw a means of union between the Latin West and the Greek East. Frederick was hostile toward the Latin Empire because he saw in it one of the elements of papal power and influence. Vatatzes considered the pope an adversary who, by refusing to recognize the Orthodox Patriarchate of Constantinople established at that time at Nicaea, was creating a serious obstacle to Vatatzes' aim of taking possession of Constantinople. Both, however, were pursuing differing aims: Frederick wished the papacy to renounce its claim to temporal jurisdiction and secular power; Vatatzes hoped that by virtue of compromise the West would recognize the Eastern Church. In this way, the Latin Patriarchate at Constantinople would lose its reason to exist. The Latin Empire, hopefully then, would gradually disappear. This possibility obviously alarmed the papacy, for in 1247 Pope Innocent IV (1243-1254) appointed the Franciscan brother Lawrence, his penitentiary, as his official legate to the East, including Cyprus, and ordered him to protect the Greeks from any harm by the Latins. In accordance with this conciliatory policy, Greeks who left the island and wished to return and pay obedience to Rome could do so under protection of the pope.²⁸

This conciliatory policy was furthered by the now legate, Eudes de Chateauroux, cardinal bishop of Tusculum, who

arrived in Cyprus with Louis IX (1226-1270) and his Crusaders in 1248. Even the Greek archbishop with his clergy came and paid homage to him and to the legate of the Latin Church. Apparently, though, this acknowledgment too had its ulterior motive, for the Greeks set forth a series of demands which would have reduced the supremacy of the Latin Church of Cyprus. Pope Innocent IV addressed cardinal legate Eudes de Chateauroux with some of these demands in a letter dated 21 July 1250.²⁹

1. The constitution of Pelagius should be suppressed.

2. Tithes should be restored to the Greeks.

3. The fourteen original dioceses should be re-established according to the ancient canons before the arrival of the Latins. In addition, the Latin successors to the earlier archbishops of the island should be stricken from the lists and only those earlier prelates should be commemorated in the diptychs.

4. Greek bishops were to recover their old jurisdictions and no restrictions would be placed on the taking of orders or becoming monks.

5. Appeals from the decisions of the Greek bishops were to go directly to the pope and not to the Latin bishops or the legate.

6. Amnesty for those who had been punished for disobedience should be granted.

When Innocent IV died on 7 December 1254, his conciliatory policies died with him, as the Vatatzes-Frederick storm had passed. The new pope, Alexander IV (1254-1261), apparently gave jurisdictional approval to the nobles of the island, as well as to the Latin archbishop, Hugh of Fagiano, to return to the old policies of converting the Greeks to Rome. In 1260 the papacy issued the famous *Constitutio Cypria*, in which an oath of obedience was to be exacted from all Greek clergy in prescribed form.³⁰ Until the fall of Acre and the Latin states in 1291, this procedure seemed to have been the governing policy on Cyprus, a policy that was fiercely resisted by all Greek Cypriots until the very end. They reasoned, consistently, that the Empire would certainly crumble if the purity of the faith were altered through adoption of Latin confessions of the "Council of

Lemosos" and the *Constitutio Cypria*. A more implicit explanation for the resistance to union was the popular sentiment that, if successful, it was the prologue to the Latinization of the Greek Church and custom, which meant not only ecclesiastical apostasy but betrayal of the Greek sense of ethnic pride.

In this way, Cyprus found herself becoming a decentralized feudal kingdom which grew into an oligarchy of foreigners who took advantage of the extension of royal jurisdiction by the pope and of new procedures that kings and barons made available. The ease with which bishops, abbots, councils, and others could appeal to Rome stimulated the process of judicial supremacy over an unwilling Greek Church. The complexity of statements between the Holy See and its representatives on Cyprus merely reflected the complexity of the task set out at the beginning of the Fourth Crusade. As theologian Brian Tierney observed,³¹ medieval popes could deploy every resource of scriptural allegory and symbolism to proclaim all the height, breadth and depth of papal power. As politicians and diplomats, they had to work within the framework of public law that existed in their own day. As legislators, they could bring about effective changes in that law only by winning general consent for their proposals. Yet long before the Turkish conquest of Cyprus, the older Sanudo had observed that, though the Western powers might destroy the Byzantine Empire, they could not hold their conquests; the examples of Cyprus, Crete, the principality of Achaia, and the Duchy of Athens showed that only the foreign conquerors, and not the native Greeks, belonged to the Roman faith.³² As a result, the temporal power of the papacy never became firmly established on Cyprus as it did in other Latin states in the East precisely because the necessary consent was never forthcoming by lords, prelates and peoples.

Perhaps Sanudo was right. The entire history of the Greek East might have been different, and the conquests of the Crusaders might have been held, had not both sides been guilty of religious bigotry which became the greatest obstacle for the union between Latins and Greeks.

FOOTNOTES

1. This Imperial Chrysobull can be found in G. Tafel and G. Thomas, *Urkunden Zur Alteren Handels-und Staatageschichte der Republik Venedig* (Vienna, 1856-1857), I, pp. 114-24. Louis de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'Ile de Chypre sous le regne de la maison de Lusignan*, I, *Histoire*—to 1291 (Paris, 1861), II, III, *Documents*—to 1670 (Paris, 1852-1855); II, shows that there were Latin merchants at Lemesos in 1191 and Amalfitani merchants in Cyprus in 1168. This fact is confirmed by Emilianos in *Kypriakai Spoudai*, (Cyprus, 1937), I, p. 12.
2. William of Tyre, XVIII, 10, in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens Occidentaux*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1844-1906), I, 835.
3. The Armenian version of Michael the Syrian, *Documents Armeniens*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1869-1906), I, 350, in *Recueil*, says that Renaud's motives were two: first, that the Greeks ill-treat the Franks in Cyprus; second, that they encourage the Turks to kill Armenians.
4. A religious historian who died in the 1930's, Paul Alphantery saw the Crusades as an integral part of the medieval church, as he emphasized in the title of his work, *La Chretienite et l'idee de Croisade*, texte etabli par Alphonse Duprout, 2 vols. (Paris, 1954-1959).
5. The values of the psychological approach to history are interestingly discussed in Williams L. Langer's presidential address of 1957 to the American Historical Association: "The Next Assignment," *American Historical Review*, LXIII (1958), pp. 203-304.
6. The most recent book on the subject, which emphasizes this progressive scholarly debate through well-defined and

meaningful stages, is Donald E. Queller's *The Latin Conquest of Constantinople* (New York, 1971).

7. P. Jaffe, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum* (Leipzig, 1888), II, p. 620, no. 17329. See also J. LaMonte, "A Register of the Cartulary of the Cathedral of Santa Sophia of Nicosia," *Byzantion*, V (1929-1930), p. 444, no. 2.
8. De Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, I, p. 123 ff. The three were Paphos, Limassol and Famagusta. De Mas Latrie mentions that at first the funds for the establishment came partly from public domains or from lands whose owners had abandoned them. (*Ibid.*, p. 125.) Funds also came from rights and possessions of the casales (hamlets and villages) of Ornithi and Aphanidia, as well as from tithes of the lands conferred upon the Church by the Holy See, such as Nicosia and its environs, the casales of Solia, Lapithos, Kythrea, Sivouri, etc., numbering about seventeen. (LaMonte, *Byzantion*, V, p. 445, no. 3.)
9. De Mas Matrie, *Histoire*, I, p. 124. See also Pius Bonifacius Gams, *Series Episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae* (Graz, 1957), pp. 430-39. Gams' lists seem to confirm the fact that, indeed, the bishops of the other two sees are unknown. Gams only confirms that when Cyprus was seized in 1191, orders were received from Rome to move the capital from Constantia (Salamis) to Nicosia. Gams also mentions that in 1218, Simeon, the Greek archbishop, was to be subject to the Latin metropolitan archbishop. The bull of 1196, therefore, is the only source on which one can depend.
10. PL. CCXVI, col. 1025; F. Kempf, *Regestum Innocentii III Papae Super Negotio Romani Imperii, Miscellanae Historiae Pontificiae*, (Rome, 1947), XII, p. 75. Cf. B. Tierney, *Foundations of the Conciliar Theory: The Contribution of the Medieval Canonists from Gratian to the Great Schism* (Cambridge, 1955). According to Tierney, the structure of the Church in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was not a monolithic unity but rather a tense balance of conflicting forces: the contradictions between the definition of the Church as a corporation of the faithful and the prevailing conception of papal sovereignty, which became apparent

when the academic canonists discussed the status of the cardinals or the problem of a heretical pope or a schism. Tierney, apparently, excludes from his research the Latin East, where "constitutional" elements in canonistic thought and principles of church government to preserve the faith and *status ecclesiae* over-rode specific rights in specific contexts. In all fairness to Tierney's excellent book on the subject, this one factor is certainly being suggested: the most fateful development in Canon law in this period was not the development in Canon law in this period was not the development of the conflict between East and West, but the change from specific rights to a logically coherent system of church government in Rome, Cyprus, or Constantinople; this objective, by any stretch of the imagination, was totally impossible.

11. *Gesta Innocentii III Papae*, PL, CCXIV, cols., 123-25.
12. For an excellent summary of Eusebios' thought, which became a basis for Byzantine thinking on the subject, see N. Baynes, "Eusebius and the Christian Empire," in *Annuaire d' l'institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales*, II (1933-1934), pp. 13-18. Cf. Ph. Sherrard, *Greek East and Latin West* (London, 1959), p. 92 ff. Also, F. Cranz, "Kingdom and Polity in Eusebius of Caesarea," *Harvard Theological Review*, XLV (1952), pp. 47-66. See also the excellent study of Y. Congar, *After Nine Hundred Years* (New York, 1959), pp. 14-17.
13. 17 December 1221 (LaMonte, *Byzantion*, no. 17); 20 December 1221 (de Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, p. 44; A. Potthast, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum* (Berlin, 1873), I, p. 245, no. 6748); 5 January 1222 (LaMonte, *Byzantion*, V, no. 18); 8 March 1222 (*Ibid.*, no. 20).
14. Listed in Sir George Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1940-1952), III, 1043.
15. The letter is dated 8 March 1222, and found in P. Pressutti, *Regesta Honorii Papae III* (Rome, 1895), II, 35, no. 3750. Cf. LaMonte, *Byzantion*, p. 452, no. 20.
16. The letter is dated 3 January 1222. Potthast, *Regesta*, no. 6755. De Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, II, p. 45, gives the date as

- 23 January 1222. The queen of Cyprus at this time was Alice of Champagne, who was recognized as regent of the kingdom and guardian of her infant son, Henry I (1218-1243). The pope, Honorius III, took the queen under his protection and ordered his legate Pelagius to do the same. (Letter of 12 July 1218, (*ibid.*, III, p. 610.)
17. In a letter dated 14 September 1222, and found in LaMonte, *Byzantion*, p. 453, no. 23, one is informed that the four Greek bishops who, henceforth, were to be subject to the Latin prelates, were now to move from their residences at Nicosia, Paphos, Limassol and Famagusta, and relocate themselves at Soli, Arainoe, Lefkara and Karpasso, respectively.
 18. Philip d'Ibelin was the younger brother of the Old Lord of Beirut (and the queen's uncle) with whom she agreed to share in the administration of the kingdom. It was with Philip that extensive commercial privileges were granted to the commune of the Genoese. Emilianos, *Kypriakai Spoudai*, I, p. 15, explains that the privileges granted to the Genoese were a reward to them by the Capetians for helping them establish French rule on the island.
 19. De Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, II, p. 47; Potthast, *Regesta*, no. 7458. In a letter written by Patriarch Germanos of Constantinople in reply to the request for guidance which the Cypriots addressed to him, the complaints were basically four: first, that there should be but one archbishop, a Latin, who with his three suffragan bishops would have complete control of the island, with the Greek bishops' being completely subordinate to them and the Latin ordinaries of the districts in which they resided; second, any appeals or decisions by the courts of the Greek bishops must be ratified by the courts of the Latin ordinaries; third, no Greek elected to a position in his church should be allowed to take office without the permission of the Latin ordinary; fourth, upon his election, every Greek bishop should kneel before his Latin ordinary and do homage and swear fealty as vassal to lord. J. Hackett, *History of the Orthodox Church in Cyprus* (London, 1901), pp. 83, 89 ff; de Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, I, pp. 209-10.

20. De Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, II, p. 47; Potthast, *Regesta*, no. 7458. For a discussion of the sources concerning the exact date of this marriage see Hill, *History*, II, p. 88, no. 3.
21. In 1472 a bull of Pope Sixtus IV concerning certain irregularities on the island confirmed the validity of the four dioceses. (De Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, III, pp. 325-30; LaMonte, *Byzantion*, p. 522, no. 131.)
22. Hackett, *History*, p. 91 ff. The text of the letter is found in C. N. Sathas, *Mesaionike Vivliotheke* (Venice, 1872), II, p. 7f.
23. The patriarch's letter is quite significant historically, as it gives evidence of the official view of the Greek Byzantines at this time against Latin Catholic inter-communion. The letter is reminiscent of the sentiments voiced with a vengeance in the letter of a Cypriot priest and cloistered monk Neophytos written in 1196 and found in Jean B. Cotelier, E Cod. Reg. 2376, in his *Ecclesiae Graecae Monumenta* (Paris, 1681), II, p. 460. The importance of the letter of Germanos can be seen from the fact that the pope appointed a commission of two Dominicans and two Franciscans to investigate the charges with the hope of bringing the two churches closer together. Letter of 18 May 1223, in Sathas, *Vivliotheke*, p. 47; Hackett, *History*, p. 99.
24. Sathas, "Narrative of the Thirteen Holy Fathers Burnt by the Latins of Cyprus," *Vivliotheke*, II, pp. 20-39.
25. *De Ecclesia Occidentalis atque Orientalis Perpetua Consensione* (Colon. 1648), p. 700, as quoted in Harry J. Magoulias, "A Study in Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox Church Relations on Cyprus," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, X (1964), p. 84.
26. LaMonte, *Byzantion*, p. 463, no. 48. Cf. Potthast, *Regesta*, I, p. 920, no. 10868, which gives evidence of Pope Gregory's ordering of Eusterge to fill the posts of the recusant Greek clerics who fled to Armenia, with Latins and to gain the support of the secular and civil authorities toward this end.
27. J. LaMonte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 1932), p. 279.
28. This seems to be an extension of the policy of conciliation

with the Greeks of Cyprus rather than coercion, which had thus far failed. An earlier sign of this could be seen in the exemption granted in July 1243, to the Greek Basilian monastery of St. Marguerite de Agro in the diocese of Nicosia exempting it from tithe on the lands which it possessed and cultivated itself. LaMonte, "Register," p. 464, no. 52. (The wording, however, "... the monastery under the protection of the Apostolic See, ..." may suggest that this monastery yielded to the Latin archbishop, which, if true, meant that there was no change in policy.) In the "Cartulary" a letter of 25 January 1245 was sent to the patriarch of Jerusalem, who was instructed "to protect the monks of Saint Marguerite de Agro from all molestation," *ibid.*, p. 465, no. 55.

29. E. Berger, *Les Registres d'Innocent IV* (Paris, 1884), II, p. 134, no. 4769.
30. This form, found in Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*, 31 vols. (Florence and Venice, 1759-1798), XXIII, cols. 1037-46, also is confirmed by Hackett, *History*, pp. 114-23.
31. B. Tierney, "Papal Political Thought in the Thirteenth Century," *Medieval Studies*, XXVII (1965), p. 245.
32. W. Miller, *Essays in the Latin Orient* (Cambridge, 1921), p. 78.

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ORTHODOXY IN THE ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT *

By VASIL T. ISTAVRIDIS

Orthodoxy, without making a compromise in her ecclesiological claims of being the one and true Church of Christ, took part, unlike the Roman Catholic Church, in the Ecumenical Movement since its beginnings.

One can not overlook the role played by the Ecumenical Patriarchate in this domain. Particularly though, two points may be stressed:

- a) that the patriarchate was one of the few Christian Churches which prepared and worked for the formation of the movement, and
- b) that it was and still is one of the most faithful members and ardent supporters of the Ecumenical Movement. In the Encyclical Letters of 1902-1904 between the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the sister autocephalous Orthodox Churches relations between Orthodoxy and other Christian Churches were touched and favourably commented upon. In the second Patriarchal Encyclical of 1920, *Unto All the Churches of Christ Wheresoever They Be* the formation of a league or a council of Churches was proposed, and a scheme containing the appropriate practical steps to be taken was given.

Officially, the Orthodox Church started her cooperation with the Ecumenical Movement proper in the year 1920, by sending delegates to the preliminary meeting of that year on Faith and Order at Geneva. Since then and till the year 1937, when a decision was taken to unite the two movements on Life and Work and Faith and Order into one World Council of Churches, participation of Orthodoxy in terms of Churches was unani-

* A paper delivered at the Near East School of Theology.

mous, with the exception of the Orthodox Church of Russia which due to internal difficulties could not get in touch with the Ecumenical Movement.

Representation to the Ecumenical Conferences was not mainly in accordance to the geographical location of the Churches but on a denominational basis. So the Orthodox delegations appeared in these conferences as a well-integrated whole always under the chairmanship of the Metropolitan Germanos (Strenopoulos) of Thyateira, of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. Their participation in the two ecumenical movements has not been the same. They fully cooperated in the movement on Life and Work, while their stand within the movement on Faith and Order, where the Orthodox presented at the end their separate statements, was not the same.

The Ecumenical Movement, as it seems, was understood and practiced only by a handful of clerics and professors of theology, without making an impact on the wider membership of the Church.

The WCC presented, beginning with the year 1938 and officially the year 1948; a new event and a new factor in the Ecumenical Movement. It is no more a movement of the Churches with loose strings, but a council of Churches, a body to which Churches become members after accepting its Basis.

World War II brought great changes and poses new problems, not yet solved in many parts of the world, needing the common efforts of the Churches for their solution. The entrance of the Eastern European states to the Communist-Socialist bloc of nations will make the Orthodox Churches there face new problems. Ever since World War II the Holy Orthodox Church of Russia was allowed to have contacts with the outside Christian world. In the see of Constantinople appeared, almost for a quarter of a century (1949-1972), the figure of the late Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras, whose untiring efforts matched by the sober help of his associates at the Phanar, are worthy of notice in the domains of inter-Orthodox inter-Christian relations.

On the Orthodox side there exist some statements of official or semi-official character, which, more or less, shed light on the

way one or more Orthodox Churches have understood the WCC and subsequently adjusted their stand towards it.

One month before the I General Assembly of the WCC at Amsterdam, the delegates of the Orthodox Churches of Russia, Serbia, Rumania, Poland, Albania, Bulgaria, in the presence of representatives from the Patriarchates of Alexandria and Antioch, who met at the Conference of Moscow (8-18 July 1948), reached the decision to refrain from participating in the Ecumenical Movement, in its present form. The material which led to the decision and the decision itself show a misunderstanding and a seemingly lack of knowledge on the nature, the work, and the historical events connected with the Ecumenical Movement and the WCC.

The Ecumenical Patriarchate in its Encyclical of the year 1952 came out for the participation of the Orthodox Churches in the WCC. But this participation could be conducted under three conditions:

- a) avoidance of discussion of dogmas in the Commission on Faith and Order, and instead the presentation and explanation of the Orthodox faith;
- b) common action of all Orthodox Churches and study of the ecumenical problems by permanent synodical committees; and
- c) reserved attitude of Orthodox clerics toward the worship of the non-Orthodox, and celebration of purely Orthodox services during the conferences and meetings of the WCC.

The Orthodox Churches, which had signed the decision of Moscow of 1948, one after the other changed their attitude and became members of the council. A sign for the change of feelings and improved relations is the letter of the Patriarch of Moscow to the General Secretary of the WCC, dated 11 April 1961, in which we read: "We declare our agreement with the Basis of the World Council of Churches as expressed in paragraph one of its Constitution . . ."

In this respect we count on the efforts made by the World Council of Churches to strengthen the spirit of ecumenical brotherhood as well as the contacts with the Russian Orthodox Church.

In the agenda of the I Pan-Orthodox Conference of Rhodes

(1961) the theme "Orthodoxy and the Ecumenical Movement" appeared in these lines:

a) Participation and presence of the Orthodox Church in the Ecumenical Movement in the spirit of the Patriarchal Encyclical of 1920;'

b) Study of theological and other questions relative to the participation of the Orthodox Church in the Ecumenical Movement;

c) Importance and contribution of the full Orthodox participation in the orientation of the ecumenical thought and action.

Membership of the Orthodox Churches in the WCC during its Formative Years (1938-1948) seems to be normal as before. With the negative decision taken in the Conference of Moscow (1948) the above-mentioned Orthodox Churches abstained from the WCC. Present in the I General Assembly of the WCC at Amsterdam (1948) were delegates of the Orthodox Churches of Constantinople, Cyprus and Greece, and the Rumanian Episcopate in America. Thus Orthodoxy, for the first time in history, followed a divided line of action towards the Ecumenical Movement.

In the meantime patient and continuous efforts made by the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the officers of the council to explain the nature and the work of the council and its relations to Orthodoxy, the good-will of the heads and other leaders of the different Orthodox Churches, and the changing political climate have enormously helped for better understanding of each other, and in paving the way for the eventual entrance of all Orthodox Churches in the WCC.

In 1952 the Patriarchate of Antioch joined the council. At the II General Assembly of the WCC in Evanston, Illinois (1954), besides the founding Orthodox Churches and the Patriarchate of Antioch, we see the autonomous Russian Orthodox Church in America (the Metropolia) and the Archbishopric of the Church of Antioch in America.

A correspondence began right after the Evanston Assembly between the WCC and the Holy Orthodox Church of Russia

resulting in the entrance of this Church to the WCC in the New Delhi Assembly (1961). Also joining the council on the same occasion, were the Orthodox Churches of Rumania, Bulgaria, and Poland, while the Patriarchate of Jerusalem sent for the first time delegates to an assembly. Those Orthodox Churches were followed by the Churches of Georgia (Iberia, 1962), Serbia (1965), Czechoslovakia (1966), and Japan (1973). Thus with the exception of the Orthodox Church of Albania, the whole of Orthodoxy cooperates in the WCC.

The way of cooperation is somehow related to the number of seats allocated to the Orthodox in the General Assemblies and the lower structures of the WCC. For example, in Amsterdam (1948) 85 seats out of a total of 351 were given to them, while only 13 could participate, while 20 years later in Uppsala (1968) the Orthodox had 160 seats assigned out of a total of 800 delegates. The growth in numbers has a psychological effect on the Orthodox, because it helps to get rid of an inferiority complex they have before the huge number of Western Christian brethren participating.

Although in the WCC the geographical representation of the Churches counts more than the denominational factor, Orthodox delegates seem to have been able to present a more or less common integrated whole, a common line of action in dogmatic-ecclesiological matters, with some differences of opinion in the course of discussions on some external and social questions.

Till the New Delhi Assembly (1961), the Orthodox continued to present their separate declarations. But later, they, as it seems, moved to period of avoiding such separate statements, which means that they make their voice heard through discussions and official reports.

The statement of Toronto (1950) of the WCC, "The Church, the Churches, and the World Council of Churches," came just in time and played a considerable part in eliminating the doubts of the Orthodox on the nature of the council and their participation.

On 23 January 1951 the Metropolitan of Thyateira Germanos Strenopoulos died. With his death the Orthodox World and the Ecumenical Patriarchate lost an ardent ecumenist, while the Ecumenical Movement lost one of its pioneers and leading

figures and a president of the WCC, who served its cause since 1911. The change in the guard was evident at the II General Assembly (1954), where very few of the Orthodox ecumenical pioneers remained. Evanston served as a pathway, where some of the then young Orthodox theologians were exposed to the Ecumenical debates and helped them to grow into eventual maturity.

The entrance of the four new Orthodox Churches of Russia, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Poland to the WCC and the presence of about one hundred representatives of the Orthodox in different capacities was a great event for Orthodoxy in New Delhi (1961). This represented new Churches and new concerns to the Ecumenical Movement. New Delhi witnessed the culmination of some other Orthodox efforts as well:

1. The acceptance of the statement on the Unity of the Church.
2. The integration of the International Missionary Council to the WCC, formerly opposed by the Orthodox, was passed in a plenary session chaired by the Orthodox Primate Iakovos of America, after several modifications made in the draft document in order to meet Orthodox criticism.
3. The change of the I Article-Basis of the Constitution of the WCC on a trinitarian basis.
4. The same can be said on the document passed on proselytism.

Of its six presidents from the establishment of the council till the year 1968, the following hierarchs of the Ecumenical Patriarchate have served in that office: a) Germanos of Thyateira (1946/8-1951), b) Athenagoras of Thyateira (1951-1954), c) Michael of America (1954-1958), and d) Iakovos of America (1959-1968). At Uppsala (1968) the Serbian Orthodox Patriarch German was elected the Orthodox president.

In the year 1955 the Ecumenical Patriarchate founded its Liaison Office at the headquarters of the WCC in Geneva with its first director the Bishop Iakovos of Melita, (1955-1959), now Archbishop of America. This office was another sign of the continuous interest on the part of the Ecumenical Patriar-

chate, and the cooperation of Orthodox Churches towards the WCC. A sign of a similar interest is the establishment of an office of the same nature by the Church of Russia in the year 1962, with protopresbyter Vitali Borovoy as its first director (1962-1966).

It is a well-known fact that the Ecumenical Movement is not represented by the WCC only. Besides the direct Church relations, there are many persons, ideas, events, and movements, parallel and complementary to the WCC, which all make the wider and richer stream of the Ecumenical Movement.

Historically these go back to the years before the official and organized Ecumenical Movement, which is mainly characterized by the official participation of the Churches to it. In the present, there appears a tendency and a seemingly historical demand for moving towards the integration of most of them or their closer cooperation with the Council.

To wider ecumenical manifestations, mainly being the product of the Western Churches, Protestant or Roman Catholic, the Eastern Churches, through their members, lay or clergy, participate in a lesser or greater degree. It is probably due to the way and the degree of their participation that the Orthodox can not amply follow sympathetically, in a positive or negative way, these ecumenical interactions, and have to accept them at the end as facts already having a lot to give birth, grow and foster the ecumenical ideals and atmosphere, so significant for the whole ecumenical movement, and, on the other side, are the feeding pools, which prepare the ecumenically oriented and educated personnel, so essential for the growth of the Ecumenical Movement. More than that, these wider ecumenical manifestations help the different categories in the membership of the Eastern Orthodox Church, being lay, clergy, monks, children, youth, or grownups, who participate in one or more of them, to get an experience and thus bring the Ecumenical Movement to as wide as possible a grasp and representation within the fold of Orthodoxy.

Please, allow me to enumerate some of these expressions of wider ecumenism, where all Christian Churches in one or another way find it easier to cooperate formally or informally. These are: missions, laity, youth, Sunday School-religious edu-

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cation-Bible Societies, theological education, study groups on ecumenical problems, Press-Radio-Television, exchange of ecumenical visits, worship, Confessional Bodies-Organic Unions-Regional or National Councils.

Last year (1973) the WCC celebrated its twenty fifth anniversary. On the occasion, among others, a message was sent by the Ecumenical Patriarchate, following the line and the tradition of its previous encyclicals of the years 1902, 1920, and 1952. This document is divided into three parts.

Part A. Paragraphs 1-5. This is an introductory part, where due feelings and wishes are being expressed for those persons who have worked for and contributed to the life and the work of the WCC.

Part B. Paragraphs 6-8. The positive appreciation of the ecumenical events in their realistic and objective dimension. Here mention is being made of what the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the whole of Orthodoxy has offered to and received from the Ecumenical Movement.

7. Examples of the positive presence of Orthodoxy in the Council . . . are the following:

The amplification on a correct trinitarian basis of the First Article-Basis in the Constitution of the World Council of Churches;

The clarification of a theology of mission as the basic purpose of the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church; The admission of the necessity to abandon and to condemn unequivocally the past methods of proselytism, as well as the agreed definition of the fundamental principles of freedom of conscience and mutual respect in making our Christian witness;

The completely natural inclusion within the framework of ecumenical theology and interchurch dialogue of certain traditional theological principles, such as the theology of Holy Tradition, the Fathers, the Ecumenical Councils, the Christology of the Fourth Ecumenical Council, Pneumatology, the nature and notes of the Church, Baptism, Eucharist, the Priesthood, etc.;

Together with those significant clarifications concerning

particular ecumenical issues which are most sensitive to the Orthodox Church and which were resolved in the well-known discussions of the first two decades concerning the "Una Sancta" and through the renowned statement on "The Church, the Churches, and the World Council of Churches," up to the abandonment of the attempts to transform the Council into an "Ecumenical Council" and the promotion of tendencies toward "Intercommunion" in the last few years.

8. On the other hand, however, it is also acknowledged by all that the past quarter century has been equally enriching for Orthodoxy, both in the areas of interchurch experience and theological study, and in the area of concrete and generous manifestations of Christian charity and mutual assistance, which have placed Christ in the hearts of millions of distressed Christians and many of our afflicted fellow men.

Part C. Paragraphs 9-24. This part constitutes the evaluation of the present and the future of the WCC.

It is being said that the WCC is an institution which includes in itself all the presuppositions of dynamism and self-evolution. But it is also said that the council itself faces some moments of crisis and of self-examination. Speaking of the moments of crisis, one cannot avoid the acute problems of ecumenism and the new tensions. These are being enumerated in the following way:

"11. Such problems as secularism, rationalistic and materialistic trends and theories, organized resistance, violence, moral dissolution, unrestrained freedom, subversive movements, and the excesses of contemporary youth, racism, the arms race, wars and the resultant social evils, such as the oppression of the masses, social inequality, economic misery, the uneven distribution or total lack of consumer goods, physical debilitation and undernourished people, the violent displacements of people, the refugee chaos, migration, illiteracy, ecological inadequacies for life and the destruction of the environment, the problems of developing societies in our unevenly industrialized and technological world, the hopes of a suffocating population on our aged planet for the successful mastery of the universe, and the hopes for the future, all are part of the fabric of the infinite

anguish of struggling humanity in our time. Indeed, the World Council of Churches feels compelled to assume the responsibility for extending its efforts toward all these new and ever increasing realities."

Then words are being said on the well-known and widely discussed polarization between the stress given mainly to the discussion of social and external problems on the one hand and the question on the unity of the Church within the WCC on the other. To that a solution "can be found only when and if a balance is achieved between these two extreme positions regarding the aims and aspirations, and ultimately the very nature and 'raison d'être,' of the World Council of Churches" (14).

The particular elements of this balance are described in the last 8 points (paragraphs 15-22, a-n), which at the same time express the relevant views of the Ecumenical Patriarchate on the future course of the WCC.

a) The WCC is and should remain a "Council of Churches."

b) The council is obligated to act as an organ of the Churches in their common search for the unity of the Churches.

c) The Ecumenical Patriarchate is for the entrance of the Roman Catholic Church to the WCC, while it is against the entrance of certain movements or agencies or extra-ecclesial groups evidently lacking in ecclesiological characteristics.

f) The WCC should always keep in touch with the anguished man of today. Finally,

h) "As an instrument of the Churches engaged not only in theological dialogue but in charitable and mutual collaboration with one another, and thus through cooperative assistance and support giving witness and service to man and to the world, the World Council of Churches should persist in greater efforts towards a broader and more positive encounter with a long-suffering mankind so that Christ and Christ alone may be proclaimed, through means visible and invisible; through words and deeds; through decisions and actions; wherever and whenever fitting. Let the Council not pursue aims foreign to it, which could alienate it from its original purely ecclesiastical and religious goals."

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SALVATION AND PERSONAL PIETY

By PETER A. CHAMBERAS

A yearning for salvation has been a constant element in human existence from time immemorial. Man has always sought to regain some paradise lost. In this universal seeking after salvation in one form or another it seems to make little difference whether human existence is primitive or modern, religious or secular. The difference is, undoubtedly, in the nature of the salvation and the means by which one hopes to achieve it. In the context of the general theme of our Theological Conference: "Christ and the Salvation of Modern Man," my particular topic of "Salvation and Personal Piety" is viewed rather broadly, touching on the present situation of Christian life as well as on the very theological foundations of our subject as these are to be found in the New Testament and the Tradition of the Church. Consequently, Salvation is not presented here as a systematic Soteriology, but rather as a reality that is available to man in this present life. This reality is none other than the very Gospel of Salvation recorded in the New Testament and lived out in the Church. Now, Personal Piety—a term so often misunderstood and distorted—is not simply the sum total of the many expressions and external forms which the individual members of the Church use to live out their faith, but, more precisely, the personal response to God's Salvation, that unique relationship of the human person with the Divine Person which is itself a way of life—life as God has meant it to be. The interrelatedness of Salvation and Personal Piety does not allow us to deal first with one and then with the other. The moment we speak about God and His Revelation we must also speak about man and his response to it. Also, the very nature of this Salvation which God has made available for man does not allow us to see Personal Piety as simply a means or a way by which this Salvation is supposed to be achieved by man—a view that unfortunately betrays much of our religious attitude. In a very true sense Salvation itself comes first, it is primary. Piety, on the other hand,

with all of its personal and communal expressions, is not so much a consequence as it is a condition and a manifestation, or rather a sign of the reality of Salvation. In terms of personal existence one cannot exist without the other.

Perhaps the first observation that must be made, by way of introduction to our topic of Salvation and Personal Piety, is the painful fact that the Christian peoples of the world have for the most part virtually abolished true Christianity. Millions of people today call themselves Christians without reservation and yet these same people not only do not concern themselves with Christian Salvation and Piety but they never even think of the name of God, except perhaps to use it in vain. Furthermore, the so-called modern man of today by and large does not seem to be concerned about his Salvation from the Christian point of view. If he is asked to think about Christian Salvation, he understands it to be something rather vague in a far off nebulous future. But when he is concerned about saving himself, it is most often a very serious existential desire and drive to improve his family and social status, perhaps even his inner life in the sense that he might be able to better cope with himself and other people and with the everyday anxieties of living in a rather impersonal and highly technological society. Generally speaking, modern man does not seem to be even aware that the Christian view of Salvation embraces not only his "soul", or his so-called "spiritual" life but the whole of life itself with all that it implies in this fallen world we live in, including the whole cosmic dimension of creation.

In addition to the so-called secular modern man, there are groups of Christians who hold very tenaciously to different and often conflicting interpretations of the Christian Truth, resulting, at least theoretically, in corresponding views of the Christian life. These views on the nature of Christian life usually follow two general patterns.¹ On the one hand we have those who emphasize spirituality, the religious life which takes place in some inner sanctuary existing apart from the broader secular world and its unredeemed life. On the other hand we have those who are seriously concerned with this broader secular world and emphasize the need for more and more social action to recover that lost world for Christianity. There is no equilibrium here and these onesided emphases for one or the other preference tend almost programmatically to produce what often may appear as attractive and almost convincing answers, but which in fact do not hold up to the test of Christian Truth. The point in question is well

summarized in this statement: "Whether we 'spiritualize' our life or 'secularize' our religion, whether we invite men to a spiritual banquet or simply join them at the secular one, the real life of the world, for which we are told God gave His only begotten Son, remains hopelessly beyond our religious grasp."² Any attempt, therefore, to understand what true Salvation and Personal Piety is all about must seek to go beyond our ordinary and often decadent religious grasp which seeks after many things which do not profit our life. It is precisely at this point that the evangelical word of our Lord: "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God . . ." (Mt. 6:33) is most meaningful.

Another characteristic of our contemporary Christian predicament, which is pertinent to our topic is pietism.³ Originally pietism appeared as a reaction to rationalistic religious thought in the eighteenth century. Nurtured by the ever popular principles of humanism, pietism became a pervasive movement that affected all of Christianity. Today pietism has penetrated the life of the churches so much so that their particular piety on the personal level has become surprisingly similar, regardless of the fundamental theological divergences among them. Consequently the piety of a Roman Catholic, a liberal or conservative Protestant and often enough even an Orthodox will be perhaps marked by some distinguishing external forms and customs, but by no essential difference in content. This, of course, does not mean that we are all affected by the unifying spirit of Christ as some would have us believe; it does mean that a basic dichotomy exists between Theology and Life. The resultant practical piety is, I believe, a betrayal of true Christianity, since it does not reveal Christian Truth as it is expressed in such fundamental doctrines as the Holy Trinity, the Incarnation of God, the Grace of the Holy Spirit, the nature of the Church, or the deification of man. In our time this false humanistic piety is increasingly taking on the character of social ethics, emphasizing as it does the proper civil behaviour of individuals. These principles are of course honorable in themselves and certainly useful in society, but by their very nature they are virtually detached from any notion of the Incarnation of God or the deification of man in Christ.

In the past what divided the Church from heresy was not so much the theoretical formulation of doctrines as the actual differences in the experience of the Church, in its Piety which would eventually be formulated into a doctrine defining the boundaries of that life in the Church. Today the experience of the

Church is often detached from its doctrines, and any differences in these doctrines are admittedly empty, verbal formulations with little or no relation to personal or even communal piety. It is therefore quite natural today for the Church to seek their formal unity and the abolishment of all differences even on the plane of theoretical doctrines as well as external religious practices, since these have already been obliterated and essentially lost sight of in the realm of a practical, humanistic piety.

However theologically naive or socially beneficial this practical piety might be, its real danger does not lie in a simple misinterpretation, but rather in a betrayal, a transformation of Christian Truth and especially the reality of the Church. Indeed, pietism is considered as an ecclesiological heresy because it undermines and denies the very nature of the Church.⁴ It transposes the reality of Salvation from the Church to the individual, to a piety of behaviourism and psychologism devoid of Christian Truth. Thus the Church is undermined as the primary event of Salvation. The true nature of Salvation is denied, leaving only a sentimental justification that individuals can obtain for themselves by observing certain rules and religious customs. Consequently, "the admittedly great mystery of piety" (I Tim. 3:16) is no longer the unfathomable Mystery of God's Love for man and his deification in Christ. It has become distorted beyond recognition by the preponderance in the life of the Church of secular criteria and rationalistic social necessities. These elements can only change the very nature of the Church, projecting as they do ethical principles for individual and social good that reduce the Church to little more than an institution to uphold and preserve social law and order, something which after all a free state can undoubtedly carry out much more effectively than the Church can. From the moment the Church begins to deny its essential nature as the historical reality of communion between God and man, as the Truth which liberates and transfigures man and the world, it necessarily lowers itself to the accommodating forms of life of this world. Even if these are religious forms of life seeking to serve the religious needs of the people—meaning of course those impassable psychological and social needs of fallen man—fallen man will remain fallen as long as he is directed to seek his freedom and salvation where it does not and cannot exist. As for the church that falls into this vicious circle, its life tends to revolve around a fruitless seeking to justify its existence by fortifying its social usefulness and by projecting its necessity as the guardian of social and personal ethics.

The consequences of such a predicament are clear enough among many churches today: a feverish concern not to prove old fashioned and useless in a technological and rationalistic society. They seek to offer modern man a gospel as accommodating as possible, and adapted to his rationalistic mentality and needs. Furthermore, they seek to transmit this gospel using the most contemporary media with the least possible attention to doctrinal differences, thereby hoping to overcome the moral shortcomings of their dividedness and to achieve their stated social imperatives. In virtually all aspects of inter-church relations and personal church life today the primary concern is a faultless appearance at the expense of Truth and inner integrity. In such a context then Salvation in its true Christian sense is hardly recognized as the ultimate purpose and destiny of man. And even when it is given lip service it is usually distorted by a minimalism that hardly transcends human moralism and social ethics. Personal Piety also is minimized to the same degree, being no more than a negative legalism and an external ethic of good behaviour that is anything but salutary for modern man with his innumerable existential anxieties and neuroses.

When Piety is devoid of Theology we have pietism; when Theology is devoid of Piety in the true sense of the term, we have still another latent heresy in contemporary Christianity.⁵ Theology for the sake of theology tends to transform the Christian Gospel of Salvation to a simple ideology, another religio-philosophical world theory and life theory. For example, the doctrine of the Holy Trinity is the basic doctrine of Orthodoxy. The worship of the Triune God is of paramount importance for every Orthodox Christian and community. And as Orthodox Christians we possess a highly developed Trinitarian Theology. But the problem that should concern us today is to what extent the Holy Trinity continues to be a living reality in the personal as well as the collective consciousness of the Church. In other words, has the doctrine of the Holy Trinity ceased to be the "symbol" which points to the Transcendent Reality of Father, Son and Holy Spirit—of the Three Divine Persons with whom man is called to have a worshipful communion of Love and mutual indwelling? When the knowledge of union with God has been replaced by an intellectual knowledge of theological doctrines, then the existential vitality of Christian living is reduced to an abstract, rationalistic system of theological thought. This system may be able to guide man's social behaviour and even correct certain social evils;

it may also be able to help psychologically and to strengthen man who is troubled by the sorrows of this life, but it is virtually helpless to lead man to his ultimate destiny to become a son of God. Furthermore, it is only after the Mystery of the Triune God has been established in our conscience that we can go on to speak of creation of the world and of man, and only after creation can we have the fall and the Salvation of man in Christ. Admittedly then, the interrelatedness of Theology and Piety in the Orthodox Tradition cannot be underestimated. Orthodox Doctrines about God and Man must be the basis of our Personal Piety, and our Personal Piety must reflect and reveal our Orthodox Faith.

The contemporary situation, undoubtedly, demands a reaffirmation of man's nature as a free being created by God in His image and likeness, but who has through his freedom fallen away from God, and in his fallen and sinful state receives from God Grace and Life that regenerate him in Christ. This fundamental Christian conception of man must be real and not merely theoretical, because it implies the transfiguration of the created nature of man, i.e. the actual attainment of the highest possible human qualities here in this life and this fallen world. In fact the central anthropological idea of Christianity is the idea of Divine Humanity. This idea means, in the words of Fr. Florovsky, "that the only way out of that impasse into which the world has been driven by the tragic failure of Christians to be truly Christians is the reconversion of the world to Christianity. A new world can be built only by a new man."⁶ This is why Christian anthropology teaches not only of the Old Adam but also of the New Adam, of Christ the God-Man. Because our Redeemer and Saviour is not a man but the Living God Himself who identified Himself with men in the fellowship of a truly human nature and life, it has become possible to have a personal relationship between God and man, a personal communion of man with the Personal God.

If we do not take the Incarnation in earnest—and modern man generally seems to be doing just that, for he does not dare to believe that Christ is a Divine Person—we will be simply reaffirming the self-sufficiency of man rather than the need of Salvation by the Grace of God. The complete opposite of this Pelagian attitude is to be found in another peculiar theology which reduces man to utter passivity, allowing him only to listen and to hope. Here even faith itself is considered to be totally the gift of God, thus leading to the inevitable conclusion that there is nothing to prevent the immediate salvation of all. These conflicting

approaches to God and man point once again to the need for a sound Christian Theology whose absence can only bring about a distorted view of Salvation and Personal Piety. What is needed therefore is a comprehensive reconstruction of Christian belief from the beginning with particular attention to the Gospel of Salvation which requires primarily true *metanoia*—not merely acknowledgment of our fallen state and contrition for our sins, but a profound change from within of our mental and emotional attitude and a complete renewal of our self with a total reorientation toward God. It seems to me that modern man about whom we talk so much has not yet made up his mind to “change his mind”, to conform to the mind of Christ. And it is perhaps at this very point that our failure as Christians is most acute and obvious.

Christian Truth is an Event, the historical Event of the Incarnation of God in the Person of Jesus Christ and the theosis of man in the Church. The Church is the historical manifestation of this Event in each age, and in its most sublime expression as the triumphant Church is indeed “transfigured and regenerated mankind.”⁷ The Christian Gospel, even before it is preached and recorded in writing as the teaching of the Church, is first and foremost the Event of Salvation, the indwelling of God with man, with the New Humanity in Christ. This unity of man with God in the Body of Christ defines the new way of life, the new ethos which is not merely a more complete system of moral imperatives but rather an actual transfiguration of human nature. This evangelical ethos is not a more perfect ethics—this word is actually missing from the New Testament. The word we find in the New Testament is *euseveia*. However we translate it, the meaning it conveys in the New Testament is clearly identified with the entire divine Economy for the Salvation of man. This Piety—*euseveia* if you will—is virtually identified with the reality of the Incarnation and the enthronement of human nature in God’s heavenly throne (I Tim. 3:16). After the fall man was unable to recapitulate fragmented nature in a catholic return and communion with God. There was a natural distance between man and God that could not be bridged by the personal will that had been condemned to remain an isolated, individual will. With the Incarnation of the Word of God, a restoration took place once for all in the realm of human nature that allows for a natural communion in the new Divine-Human nature of the Incarnate Word. With the wall of separation destroyed, man can now renounce his self-sufficiency

and rise to the new catholicity, the new wholeness of union with God. This is the new way of life, the new ethos that has been inaugurated by Christ, the New Adam, the Head of the New Humanity. Conformity with this new ethos defines the Personal Piety of the Church. In Orthodoxy this is in fact an asceticism, a heroic effort not simply to achieve certain good works but rather to deny the rebellion of the individual will and to imitate the obedience of Christ—an obedience not merely to an external law but an obedience and fidelity to the image and likeness of God, a conformity to the Triune Prototype. These, of course, cannot be merely theoretical formulations, the product of mere theological speculation; they are indeed the very foundation of the ontological, and not merely psychological, possibility for the moral perfection and natural restoration of personality.

This natural restoration of personality means to become a Saint. After all, the ideal type of Orthodox Piety is not that of an ethical, moral and just man, but precisely that of a Saint, a hero of the Faith. In fact Personal Piety may be defined as a yearning for holiness, a yearning for segregation from everything that is an obstacle to our integration with the life of Christ, with the life of simple humility before God, with the life of burning love for God, who "for us men and our salvation" became man, lived a human life, revealed to us the ultimate Truth in His Person and died on the Cross. It is important to keep in mind that it was this ideal type of piety, not merely as an idea but precisely as a concrete and manifest holiness of personality in that enormous "cloud" of saintly witness through the ages that inspired and produced all those truly remarkable external expressions of Orthodox Piety, liturgy, theology, monasticism, asceticism, architecture, the liturgical arts: poetry, music, iconography, even the ritual of the *typicon*. These cultural achievements, incidentally, are important not as mere relics of the past that need to be preserved, but rather as true and catholic expressions of the Orthodox Faith and Piety. As such they are most helpful in bringing about a restoration of our Piety, especially if they are themselves restored as true expressions of the catholic mind of the Church. These cultural achievements through the centuries, especially the inner spiritual achievements of holiness among the Fathers and Saints of the Church, and most of all the eternal Gospel of Salvation must forever challenge us in our daily and contemporary life where we now stand; all these elements constitute the total Tradition—the real world, if you will—within which Piety can

become personal and Salvation a present reality. The historical experience of the Church, past and present, is extremely important for personal Piety, as we are called to live in spiritual sympathy with this experience and to attain on a personal level what the Church has already achieved collectively, namely Salvation. Christian Salvation is not an individualistic matter that can be achieved in personal isolation. *Unus christianus nullus christianus* applies here.

Nobody can be truly Christian as a solitary and isolated being. Christian existence is social and corporate. In fact all of the Sacraments of the Church are Sacraments of incorporation and introduction into the New Humanity, the Body of Christ, the Kingdom of God. There is no room here for the so-called freedom of individualism that seeks to defend the rights of the individual whose self-awareness is one of personal autonomy. This is especially true in regard to Personal Piety. Personal, yes, but not individualistic, not separate from the other members of the Body of Christ. In fact even in his personal uniqueness and isolation in space and time from the other members of the Church, each believer remains in communion with all the others in every place and every age. This is why from an Orthodox point of view the believer and the believing community are not set against each other nor estranged. The Orthodox believer stands within the Community of the faithful, and at the same time the faithful Community stands within the Faith of each of its faithful members, especially its Martyrs, its Saints and its Fathers of all ages. Individualism and totalitarianism are both equally a betrayal of Orthodox Piety, be it personal or communal, because these attitudes presuppose a cleavage between community and person, Church and church member. Without freedom of conscience, without freedom of the Spirit, believers in the Church distort their very nature as free beings created in the image and likeness of God. Now, true freedom of the Spirit has no resemblance whatsoever with the isolation and autonomy of individuals seeking to secure their own rights or views on this or that matter—be it a spiritual or a secular matter—without regard to the whole Body of Christ. True freedom of the Spirit means that the many persons acknowledge themselves as members of the spiritual whole, the Body of Christ which is the Church. When one suffers, all suffer; when one rejoices, all rejoice. But without an active and spiritual deepening of this personal consciousness of freedom within the Church, the life of the Church cannot but remain external and

appear imposed externally. The very presence of the believer within the Church presupposes a spiritual freedom not only at the time of incorporation but throughout our life in the Church. Christ reveals Himself to us not in our isolation, but in our union with Him and His Body. With complete trust in Him, with utter humility before His redeeming Grace, one enters fully and completely into the life of the Church and there, according to St. Paul, "you must work out your own salvation in fear and trembling, for it is God who Works in you, inspiring both the will and the deed" (Phil. 2:13).

In the Person of Jesus Christ God Himself has entered history and human experience in a unique and singular way, and it is up to the believers in each and every age to recognize this and to respond to it by becoming contemporaries of Christ. The Reign of God is indeed present in history, in that the power of demons is broken, sins are forgiven, human and cosmic nature is restored and personality is transfigured in a New Humanity, a new eschatological fellowship that has been already built up in the Crucified and Resurrected Christ. When the Kingdom of God has already begun its operations in the Person and Work of Jesus Christ, Salvation is indeed a present reality. The New Testament makes this fact sufficiently clear. Now it is in the Body of Christ, in the Church that the Kingdom, the Rule of God is operative, working out and perfecting our Salvation. But to experience the Salvation of the Kingdom of God one must have faith, i.e. one must interpret this Event aright, that is, the Event of Christ as well as the Event of the Church, and must commit oneself without reservation to the God it reveals. Only then does the Kingdom of God become a matter of personal experience. Consequently, the call to the Kingdom, the call to the new life in the Church is primarily and necessarily a call for a radical decision, a decision that must over and over again be radically renewed and revived in man.

Now, precisely at this point appears that fundamental and abiding tension in our Christian living—the tension between the call and the response, the now and the not yet, the beginning and the end, the end and the beginning in our Christian existence. It is remarkable that even the earliest Church experienced this eschatological tension between present and future, as expressed in its prayer "marantha—Our Lord Come" (I Cor. 16:22). This tension between the earthly coming of the Lord and His Parousia is precisely the same as in the case of the first disciples for whom the

Kingdom had already come in the Person of Christ and who were nevertheless taught to pray: "Thy Kingdom come." The Kingdom of God has been inaugurated but not fully realized and fulfilled. The pilgrims' journey has begun but the ultimate destination has not yet been reached. Even the ethical exhortations of St. Paul are very instructive in this regard, appearing as they do as another mode of the Gospel of Salvation.⁸ We may recall the following brief complementary statements which express both the reality of Salvation in Christ and the need to work this Salvation out in our personal lives: "You have put on Christ . . ." (Gal. 3:27); "Put on the Lord Jesus Christ . . ." (Rom. 13:14); "We died to sin . . ." (Rom. 6:2); "So you also must consider yourselves dead to sin and alive to God in Christ Jesus. Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal bodies" (Rom. 6:11-12); "If we live by the Spirit, let us also walk by the Spirit" (Gal. 5:25). It is well known how mightily St. Paul struggled against those elements in the early Church which attempted either to deny the Grace of God by returning to the Law, or to overcome this eschatological tension and to claim complete fulfillment. The so-called fanatical enthusiasts of St. Paul's time had only too eagerly caught hold of the good tidings that time had been fulfilled with the dawning of Salvation and believed that they were showing forth the new age of fulfillment in their own lives. They were not, it seems, ready to take up the provisionality of Christian existence in humiliation and suffering, and construed as weakness and inconsistency St. Paul's insistence on the unresolved tension between the Salvation already realized in Christ and its still future personal completion and perfection. St. Paul's conception of still continuing temporality was dictated by the very nature of the Christian Gospel. It was not an awkward relic of earthly existence which believers had to endure, but the very condition of Salvation to which the Crucified and Risen Lord gave meaning and content. Time and history are the field in which faith exercises and verifies itself.

This is precisely the case with our life in the Church. Our life in the Church with all of its temporal and historical implications is a mode of faith, an appropriation of what God has already assigned to us by His Grace; it is indeed a working out of our Salvation in cooperation, in synergy if you will, with the Holy Spirit, Who abides in the Church. The beginning of this life in the Church then is not some kind of psychological notion of realized Salvation or even ethical perfection, but rather a repentance, a radical abandonment of our self-sufficiency, an acknowledgment

of our human incapacity to achieve by personal effort our own Salvation, a constant seeking for the Grace of God. St. Seraphim once said that the very purpose of our Christian living is to acquire the Grace of the Holy Spirit. Jesus began his preaching with a call to repentance precisely because this is the very precondition of participation in the Grace of God. This call must be a daily reminder: "The Kingdom of God is upon you; repent, and believe in the Gospel" (Mk. 1:14).

Every single page of the Gospel emphasizes the need for repentance, for renunciation of our individual adequacy and sufficiency, especially the consciousness of self-sufficiency created by our objective virtue, by doing the works of the law. Jesus has assured us that in order to "save" our life, we must "lose" it (Mt. 16:25). This means to deny in our personal life any identification with our individual fallen nature, with our defense of the psychological ego that is especially sustained by an objective recognition of virtue, by individual achievements, and by a self-seeking consciousness of meritoriousness. We can gain a world of material goods and psychological virtues, but we can still lose our soul—our true life in God.

The thing that impresses one deeply in reading the Gospel narratives is Jesus' rebellious protest against Pharisaism. It must be noted that the Scribes and Pharisees were seriously seeking to do the will of God, and it is a mistake to imagine, as many Christians seem to do, that they were morally and religiously on a low level. From the point of view of Old Testament religion, Pharisaism was the highest point reached by later Judaism in its moral and religious life. And yet, it is this lofty form of Judaism that Christ denounced. This, of course, is a denunciation of legalistic morality, of justification by the law, of complacent self-righteousness. The Gospel goes on to put sinners and publicans above the Pharisees, the unclean above the clean, the last above the first, the lost above the saved. This is the paradox of Christian morality which Christians find hard to understand and accept. Christians sometimes imagine that the Gospel denunciations refer to Pharisees who lived in the distant past, and themselves join in rhetorically denouncing them as villains. One must not overlook the fact that those denunciations of the Pharisees refer to ourselves too, to us who are living today, to the self-righteous, to the so-called morally "first" and "saved" of all times. This paradox means that it is better to have the self-awareness of a sinner conscious of his sin than of a Pharisee conscious of his righteous-

ness. Why? The usual answer is that the sinful publican, for example, is humble while the Pharisee is proud. This explanation does not go to the root of the problem. The Pharisees were, of course, following their traditional piety with its fully practicable precepts of legalistic ethics, and they were able to fulfill the law to the smallest detail and to become pure according to the law. But then it appeared that even the perfect fulfillment of the law does not save, does not lead to the Kingdom of God. St. Paul teaches this most eloquently when he says that the law sprang up as a result of sin and is powerless to free man from the world in which he found himself after plucking the fruit of the tree of knowledge. The law alone is powerless to conquer sin and to save from death. Pharisaism then is mercilessly condemned in the Gospel because its adherents, like the pietists, do not need the Saviour as sinners need Him. Pharisaism means rejection of the Redeemer and redemption and adherence to a belief that salvation is to be found by fulfilling the moral law.

Pharisaism, admittedly, is so deep and stable an element of fallen human nature in its attitude to the law that it misinterprets Christian Piety in its own particular way. The Christian, for example, who thinks that he is saved, justified, pure and superior to the other sinners around him because he often goes to church, makes genuflections, lights many large candles, repeats the regular prayers, follows the canonical rules and does good works is, of course, a Pharisee within Christianity and the Gospel denunciations are meant for him too. The point is to have a self-awareness of one's inadequacy and to seek the mercy of God. This is a scandalous reversal of the principles of social ethics, and socially established Christianity often finds it difficult to get used to this revolutionary element in the Gospel. The Gospel considers those who are socially regarded as first to be actually last, and those regarded socially as last, to be first. "The publicans and the prostitutes are entering the Kingdom of God before you" (Mt. 21:31). The citizens of the Kingdom of God are not the self-righteous but the sinners who alone have the possibility of responding to the call of repentance and receiving joyfully the Grace of God. When Christians compromise the Gospel by projecting a legalistic notion regarding man's relationship with God—a notion that borders on a commercial scheme of give and take, of human achievements and divine rewards—they are only hopelessly trying to contain the New Strong Wine of the Gospel in old and worn out wine skins.

"Unless a man has been born over again he cannot see the Kingdom of God" (Jn. 3:3f). Man's recognition of his fall is the first step toward his rebirth and regeneration. This can only come about through a baptism in the death of sin, or rather in the death and resurrection of Christ: "Have you forgotten," St. Paul reminds us, "that when we were baptized into union with Christ Jesus we were baptized into his death? By baptism we were buried with him, and lay dead, in order that, as Christ was raised from the dead in the splendour of the Father, so also we might set our feet upon the new path of life" (Rom. 6:3-4). It is this radical rebirth, this change from within, this *metanoia* which enables man to acknowledge with true lamentation the paradise he has lost and to desire, to pray, to weep for the newness of life that is now within his grasp. It is in this regard especially that Orthodox monasticism has been a constant prophetic herald as well as an abiding presence of unceasing repentance—a presence whose influence among the Orthodox in general cannot be underestimated. In spite of its asceticism and austerity, this Orthodox Piety *par excellence* reflects an inner radiant joy flowing from each personal assurance of Christ's victory over sin and death which in turn ushers in a newness of life that is already a foretaste of the Kingdom of God. It is also remarkable to note that as a life of heroic warfare and tragic suffering, a life of unceasing vigilance and prayer, Orthodox Monasticism seeks little more than repentance—that rebirth from God which can fluctuate in an unresolved eschatological tension between the abysses of human failure and the actual renewal and transfiguration of human nature and personality by the power of the Holy Spirit and the humble synergy of a regenerated human will.

Repentance then cannot be merely a psychological awareness of guilt for wrongdoing; it is rather the experience of separation from God, of true sorrow for the loss of His Person, of the death that results from being deprived of the Divine Life. This approach to the problem of evil is fundamental to the Gospel and is reflected in the traditional Piety of the Orthodox Church. Any merely legalistic approach which considers sin only as an objective wrongdoing forces one to accept also virtue as a necessary and useful individual quality and achievement, thereby forcing one back to self-sufficiency and self-righteousness which block the way to repentance. This leads us once again to reiterate that what God requires of us is not meritorious virtue, but the recurring cry *de profundis*: "Lord, have mercy! Thy Kingdom come!"

Orthodox personal Piety is of course recapitulated in the Mysteries of the Church. It is precisely in the sacramental life of the Church that the personal effort for piety or the personal failure of sin meets the gracious Energies of God, restoring and revealing the true nature of human existence and the image of God in man. Every Mystery of the Church is a potential communion of man in its life-giving Body, its divine-human nature, its true life in Christ. Consequently, Baptism is the beginning and the recapitulation of the new life in the Church. This renewal of man's life is not a result of mere discipline to certain rules of life, nor a matter of improving character and behaviour, but rather a real change of nature; first a denial, a renunciation, a death of the old, self-sufficient and fragmented man; secondly the resurrection of a truly human personality in the realm of the Communion of the Saints. The Mystery of Chrism also is precisely the seal of personal adoption, the seal of a unique and personal relationship with the Holy Trinity which restores man to his royal position in creation; it is again a personal revelation of communion between God and man.

The tragic fact that even after Baptism man experiences failure repeatedly in his effort to overcome his individual sufficiency and to realize regeneration does not cancel out the baptismal death and resurrection; it only confirms the fact that no natural change can take place outside the realm of personal life. This is why Personal Piety must never be allowed to deteriorate into something external, formal, not possessing the breath of life of the Holy Spirit. The Church, of course, will again and again receive man with his failure, will accept his repeated falling as the tragic consequence of his freedom, and will acknowledge the signs of his personal effort as an affirmation of his invaluable person—created in the image and likeness of God. This acceptance and renewal of man in and by the Church after every fall is also a Mystery, an event of the communion of the freedom of man with the Grace of God, the Mystery of Repentance and Confession. Our sins and even our most disappointing failures are the primary truths about man. Their recognition as such is the measure of our acceptance of God's Grace and Love and of our conformity to the mind and personal stature of Christ. True and salutary piety requires that man must not bring to Church his guilt feelings and wounded ego, but his failure, his humility, his faith and his love for God and his fellow man, which reassure him that even this trusting approach itself is already a restoration of the Truth of the

New Man and the New Creation. Whenever the abysmal circumstances of man's sinfulness are laid at the gates of the Kingdom of God, they are transfigured in a burning revelation of the Love of God, Who descended to the lowest hades in order to raise up and liberate human personality, restoring it to the Communion of Saints in the Kingdom of God which has no end.

Boston, Massachusetts

FOOTNOTES

1. See the succinct analysis in A. Schmemann, *For the Life of the World* (New York, 1963), pp. 1-3.
2. *Ibid.* p. 3.
3. See the fine analysis of pietism by Chrestos Yannaras, *Ἡ Ἐλευθερία τοῦ Θεοῦ*. (Athens, 1970), pp. 94-101, to whom I am indebted for some of the comments and observations on this topic.
4. *Ibid.* p. 98.
5. See the pertinent article by Leon Zander, "Διδασκαλία καὶ Εὐσέβεια τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας," *Τρία Δοκίμια περὶ Ὁρθοδοξίας* (Athens, 1962), pp. 9-33.
6. About this and other similarly bold affirmations by Fr. Georges Florovsky see *The Collected Works of Georges Florovsky* (Belmont, Mass., 1972), Vol. I, p. 12f.
7. *Ibid.* p. 37.
8. See G. Bornkamm, *Paul* (New York, 1969), p. 202f.

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SUPPLEMENT PART II

Code (B) Beta of the Ecumenical Patriarchate
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EDITOR'S NOTE

On September 25-27, 1974 the Orthodox Theological Society of America met at Holy Cross- Greek Orthodox School of Theology in Brookline for its Third Theological Conference, whose general theme was "Christ and the Salvation of Modern Man."

The Conference was opened with warm words of welcome and greetings offered to the members of the Society on behalf of His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos by The Right Reverend Bishop Iakovos of Apameia, President of Holy Cross Hellenic College, who also delivered a brief theological address.

The Conference was presided over by its President, The Reverend Dr. N. M. Vaporis, and its Vice President, Dr. Robert Haddad, ably assisted by Dr. Nicholas Itsines, and the Reverend Ilia Katre who was primarily responsible for all of the arrangements.

The Program of the Conference was as follows:

The Nature of Man

"The Biblical Understanding of Man," Professor Veselin Kesich

"Man in Patristic Thought," Professor George Bebis

"Man in Theology and Psychology," Professor Philotheos Faros

Salvation as a Present Reality

"Salvation and Personal Piety," The Reverend Peter Chambers

"Salvation and Communal Worship," Professor Maximos Aghiorgoussis

"The Articulation of Salvation for Modern Man," Professor Thomas Hopko

"How Does One Preach Death and Resurrection to Modern Man?" Dean Alexander Schmemman

We are happy to present in this number of the **Review** two of the papers read and discussed at the Conference: "The Biblical Understanding of Man" by Professor Veselin Kesich and "Salvation and Personal Piety" by The Reverend Dr. Peter Chamberas. We hope to present the remaining papers in subsequent issues of this journal.

N. M. VAPORIS

BOOK REVIEWS

James M. Gustafson, **Theology and Christian Ethics**. Philadelphia: United Church Press, 1974. Pp. 315. \$8.95.

This book is a collection of articles published elsewhere and collected under three rubrics. Each of the articles stands on its own, yet there is a very small amount of repetition. The fourteen articles are treated under the following headings. "Perspectives on Theological Ethics" gives justification for the first term of the title. Four essays deal with the problems of disinterestedness and involvement in doing ethics, the issues of faith and unbelief in the moral life, moral education, and the role of the theologian.

The second section of the book deals with "Some Substantive Issues." Five articles deal with moral discernment, the Scriptures in ethics, the relation of the Gospels to the moral life, the spiritual life and the moral life, and the relevance of history to ethics. The third and final section is concerned with the crucial issue of "Ethics and the Sciences." Its five articles deal with scientific and Christian views of man, scientific and ethical thought, the normatively human, bioethics, and genetic engineering.

This book is not to be read for final conclusions and definitive ethical answers on the topics discussed. The major thrust of the articles is to analyze varied approaches, discuss alternatives and point out methodological issues. The treatment of the issues in this manner show a scholar with deep perception and broad knowledge. There is hardly ever a sharp clear-cut either-or settling of an issue. In most cases, there is recognition of complexity and over-lapping truth. In his first essay he talks of the ethicist in these most congenial terms:

His struggle against moral evil is one whose cost he recognizes, and the power of evil against which he struggles is one he knows to be the power of darkness lost to the light of the presence and purpose of a living God. His vocation is not simply that of being the arbiter of how moral principles and values apply to particular circumstances, but a vocation in the cause of God's peace, of God's justice, of God's love (p. 42).

Yet, this does not describe the work of the ethicist. Gustafson recognizes the need, in addition to spiritual perceptivity, for rigorous thought, for appropriate and adequate articulation of faith, trust and moral decision and for a recognition of the need to substantiate belief.

This book shows an ethicist at work primarily in the task of analyzing ethical issues. The analyses are wide-ranging, sharp, informed, and complex. Yet, in his essay on "The Theologian as Prophet, Preserver or Participant"

while not rejecting the first two types, he opts for the third, in which there is more than just ivory tower analysis of ethical issues: there is involvement of the theologian in the ongoing process of decision making, clarification of contemporary issues and problems. Orthodox Christian theologians can profitably listen to him as he writes:

The participant is open to and attracted by emerging social and moral values as he shares in the development of man. In his freedom he is not compelled to deny the validity of existing values as the prophet might be, nor is he compelled to defend them as the preserver might be. He can appreciate the moral order that exists while he seeks a moral order that is to come into being (p. 92).

The Orthodox theologian, by nature, fits more in the "preserver" category, and that without apology. But, the dimension of current participation in the emerging issues of each generation cannot be foreign to him. Gustafson's preference may not be ours. But, he has an important message for all Orthodox theologians, and especially ethicists.

Perhaps the best essay of all is the thirteenth, dealing with "Basic Ethical Issues in the Biomedical Fields." On pages 246-247 is an excellent, succinct and sharp paragraph highlighting the major issues in bioethics. Here the exploring mind ferrets out issues and questions arising from the tremendous progress of biological and medical research. This connects with our previous comment. Mere repetitions of ancient stances simply do not come to terms with these new issues. A certain recognition of something new under the ethical sun is required. A certain amount of creative thought is required. The Orthodox theologian will try to do his ethics (both analysis and normative position-taking) with faithfulness to the already existing corpus of ethical thought in the Church. But, he and others who read him must recognize that he is seeking to respond to situations and questions which simply have not existed before. It is interesting to read that in Gustafson's view

one of the oldest issues of thoughtful literature again takes importance, namely, the pursuit of a normative understanding of humanity. A question discussed by Stoic, Platonic, Aristotelian, and ancient Christian thinkers takes on an acutely exacerbated quality in our situation (p. 257).

A statement such as that seems to provide license for the Orthodox theologian-ethicist to respond both traditionally and creatively.

If the chapter on bioethical issues was the best, the most disappointing was exactly the one which promised to respond to the question of the "normative understanding of humanity." Entitled "What is the Normatively Human?" it proceeds with typical Gustafsonian analysis of the possible options one could take to answer the question and rather weakly concludes with a "strong hunch" in the last sentence that "to be human is to have a vocation, a calling." It is not that this definition is *prima facie* to be rejected, it simply is stated and not given full development to answer the question posed by the title. I personally would have preferred to have read a vigorous defense of that thesis; and, failing that, a different title for the article.

But that is a minor point. By and large, any student of Christian ethics

has, in this book, much guidance, much clarification, much wisdom to absorb and to grapple with. In it you meet a razor sharp mind dealing with some of the most perplexing and difficult issues which face human beings today. We are grateful for the collection of these fine articles in a single volume. It belongs in every seminary and theological school library, and in the libraries of concerned persons from every profession.

STANLEY S. HARAKAS

Holy Cross Greek Orthodox Theological School

William A. Spurrier, *Natural Law and the Ethics of Love*. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1974. Pp. 159. \$5.95.

The purpose of this book is to bring about a synthesis between traditional Roman Catholic natural law ethics and traditional Protestant love ethics. The desirable and undesirable aspects of both Roman Catholic natural law ethics and Protestant love ethics are dealt with in the first two chapters. The third chapter deals with casuistry, seeking to show that regardless of the theory and its application, there is always a certain form of uncertainty which does not permit an "easy conscience." This is followed by a chapter which seeks to establish the "theological form of the synthesis" which deals with God, Christ, the Holy Spirit, human nature (where the concept of the "uneasy conscience" as a modified version of Augustinian sin-doctrine is delineated), justification by faith, sanctification by the Holy Spirit and Christian love. The rather shallow theological treatment of these topics provides hope for the author that "Rome" and "Geneva" can agree on this kind of theological foundation for the working out of the ethical synthesis. The fifth chapter brings together Spurrier's understandings of natural law, Divine law, ideals, flexibility, and secular knowledge, all under the aegis of the one ethical absolute, Christian love. This chapter is the theoretical heart of the book. Spurrier seeks to bring together the elements listed above so as to provide a coherent structure on which to base action. In the process, several key concepts receive rather significant reinterpretations. Natural law becomes any kind of principled statement of the good; Christian love becomes a rather undefinable ethical absolute which seems to mean "caring"; Divine law serves to remind Roman Catholics that natural law is never enough for ethical decision-making (there is need for revelation) and to remind Protestants that there is need for general principles which have "nearly universal relevance." Ideals, both ancient and modern are presented as "signposts" toward certain goals which remain undefined. Again, Christian love is the absolute of a critique of ideals; right and good if they enhance it, dangerous and wrong if they do not. Flexibility of application is seen as an attitude based on love, guided by principles, and "checked by fellow Christians who constitute the church" (p. 65). The sixth chapter is the longest chapter in the book, making up almost half of the total. It seeks to present a method for applying the ethical synthesis of the preceding chapter. It includes several extensive examples of the application. Sexual issues as

well as social issues such as war, violence, and racism are applied through appeal to Christian love, principles, ethos (attitude), knowledge of the situation, and finally, decision for action. Most readers will find that this is the weakest part of the book. There is a great deal of difficulty in following the operation of the synthesis in anything which approaches a consistent method: "love" is introduced or held out of the situation at the choice of the author; "principles" become decisive (e.g. teen-age pre-marital sex is condemned and adult pre-marital sex condoned primarily on the basis of "maturity"; euthanasia may be approved on the basis of "secondary principles" which somehow conform with love) and give specific content to Christian love. The next chapter deals with technology (computers, cybernetics, data banks), the evils of organization, and systems and "destruction" or "reform from within" for their correction. The eighth and final chapter is entitled "The Fruits of Using Christian Ethics". Here he is concerned with the transmission of ethical values and a better use of Christian ethics.

Reviewing this effort at ethical ecumenical **rapprochement** from an Eastern Orthodox perspective creates a quite mixed response. On the one hand there is a basic appreciation for the effort to bring together two major Christian traditions. There is approval for the broad ranging effort to include as many dimensions of the ethical experience as possible. There is appreciation for the concern to provide a firm, yet vital methodology for ethical decision making. Yet, there is much in this book which keeps it from succeeding in achieving its stated goals. And the tragic part of this is that in spite of the evident spirit of good will, the author fails to transcend his perspectives as a Protestant, and in fact a particular kind of Protestant.

I question very much that anyone who has much intellectual investment in the natural law will find Spurrier's reinterpretation as adequate or convincing. Many Protestants, I suspect, will not appreciate being categorized under a thinly veiled "situationalist" stance. Though—in the natural law discussion—revelation is affirmed, there seems to be little appeal to it in the ethical decision-making process. Though the consensus of the Church is spoken of (quotation from page 65, above), individualism is rampant in the book (to be human means individualism and freedom from the systems which contain us, p. 144). Though love is the only ethical absolute, its meaning is so nebulous and it is so fitfully applied that there seems to be no qualitative difference between it and the various "principles" and "ideals" espoused, in actual practice. Though love is presented as the only absolute, it is understood exclusively in terms of love on the horizontal plane—the first part of the great commandment regarding love for God seems to have no significance.

On page 150 Spurrier makes the following judgments:

. . . One of the weaknesses of Roman Catholic natural law ethics and moral theology was that, in its transmission down through history, its tendency has been to develop rigidity, legalism, and rigor mortis via overabundant rules. Meanwhile, the weakness of Protestant situational ethics has been that there was nothing to transmit except a vague love and an equally vague principle of flexibility.

On the same page he writes:

. . . If there is a model, or a body of ethical principles, a spirit of flexibility, an ethos of caring love, there may be some chance of transmitting this to the next generation.

Far be it from this reviewer to take a triumphalist attitude toward Orthodox Christianity in general and Orthodox Christian ethics in particular. But one cannot read the lines above without affirming that in fact Orthodox Christian ethics has avoided both of the weaknesses described above. Though it has articulated many rules, principles and standards throughout its history, Orthodox ethics is not enslaved by them. Its principle of flexibility in the teaching of *economia* is relatively specific, permitting the exception to a rule without setting a precedent or abrogating it, all in the name of love, seems to be an adequate, practical, and workable safety valve which preserves the rules and principles without a tyrannical rigidity. On the other hand, Love is more than a vague "softness" and a contentless "caring" since it is first and primarily seen in relationship to God and obedience to his will. This view permits a clearer articulation of ethical principles and "middle axioms" for which Spurrier has a high regard. The model of the human is based on the doctrine of the image and likeness of God and upon the doctrine of theosis. The first provides a concrete content for what it means to be human which transcends the categories of heteronomy and autonomy. The second provides a *telos* toward which we are called to move, thus providing a dynamic, energy filled, progressive ethic. Natural law provides only the most basic and elementary rules for social conduct; yet, it too, is a product of the Divine will as seen in the patristic doctrine of the spermatic Word.

Spurrier's work is just the first step, I believe, in the coming **rapprochement**. It is to be praised as a sincere effort at overcoming long-held extremes of Christian emphasis. It is a sincere attempt to build bridges and as a consequence it deserves a sympathetic reading. However, he has not managed to adequately overcome the disparities of view points. In the end, I believe that the synthesis fails, and this primarily because he has not fully specified the terms with which he grapples. We are grateful for the attempt. We look forward to what others will build upon this praiseworthy first attempt.

STANLEY S. HARAKAS

Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology

Vladimir Lossky, *In the Image and Likeness of God*, ed. by John H. Erickson and Thomas E. Bird, with an Introduction by John Meyendorff. New York: St. Vladimir's Press, 1974. Pp. 232. Paper. \$5.50.

This book is a collection of twelve essays originally written in French. They are the following: (1) Apophysis and Trinitarian Theology, (2) Darkness and Light in the Knowledge of God, (3) The Theology of Light in the Thought of St. Gregory Palamas, (4) The Procession of the Holy Spirit in

Orthodox Trinitarian Doctrine, (5) Redemption and Deification, (6) The Theological Notion of the Human Person, (7) The Theology of the Image, (8) Tradition and Traditions, (9) Concerning the Third Mark of the Church: Catholicity, (10) Catholic Consciousness: Anthropological Implications of the Dogma of the Church, (11) Panagia, (12) Dominion and Kingship: An Eschatological Study. These chapters are introduced by a three-page Foreword by Father Meyendorff, and are accompanied by a Bibliography of Vladimir N. Lossky's writings, prepared by Professor Bird, listing eight books, two of them unpublished, and thirty-five articles.

In the Image and Likeness of God was first published in French in 1967, under the title *A l'Image et la Ressemblance de Dieu*. But eight of the essays have also appeared in English translations in various journals and books.

The title of this work does not give an accurate idea of the greater part of the contents. Most of the material comprising this volume is concerned with the question of the nature of God and divine dispensation, not with the theme "in the image and likeness of God." The one chapter that is actually devoted to this question is the seventh, entitled "The Theology of the Image." If the book were really on the topic "in the image and likeness," this chapter should have been placed at the beginning. The topic is not discussed elsewhere in the book, but is only touched upon occasionally, as for instance on pages 64, 106, 109, and 213. Hence, the reader who expects to find in the book an extensive discussion of this topic will be disappointed, because there is so little about it. However, if one reads it as a treatise in Orthodox theology, dispensation and general anthropology, he will find it extremely interesting and enlightening.

Lossky draws extensively from the writings of the Greek Church Fathers, whose teaching is, he notes, "the rule of faith kept by the Church" (p. 165). He cites especially Sts. Athanasios the Great, Basil, Gregory of Nazianzos, Gregory of Nyssa, Dionysios the Areopagite, Maximos the Confessor, John Damascene, Symeon the New Theologian, and Gregory Palamas. An acute theologian, he presents the Orthodox teaching in a clear and convincing manner. And possessing considerable familiarity with Western thought, he compares and contrasts the Orthodox teaching with Western views, and thus his presentation becomes of special interest and relevance to those committed to, or acquainted with, Western doctrines. In one point, his theology, or more strictly his *οικονομία* or discussion of divine Dispensation, is open to criticism: his apparent affirmation of the doctrine of Universal Apokatastasis or Restoration, which has been condemned by the Church. Although Lossky does not stress or even discuss this doctrine in this book, he affirms it in passing, asserting at the end of his chapter on "Redemption and Deification" that "in the age to come, after having reunited all things in Christ, God will become all in all;" and similarly stating at the end of his last essay that "the fulfillment of God's dominion is also the final sanctification of the whole of creation."

With regard to Lossky's treatment of the topic of "in the image of God," it should be noted that here, too, he deviates from the Greek Patristic teaching. He criticizes St. Gregory of Nyssa for locating the "image of God" in *νοῦς*, which Lossky identifies with "the higher faculties of man" (p. 138). However, the location of the "image" in *νοῦς* is not found in

St. Gregory of Nyssa alone, but also in many other Greek Fathers, such as St. John Damascene (*Philokaliā*, II, 238), Niketas Stethatos (*ibid.*, III, 326-27), and St. Gregory Palamas (*ibid.*, IV, 142). Further, the term νοῦς is not used in such instances to denote only the higher faculties, but the entire ψυχή or soul, as is clear from the context. In this connection, the following remark of St. Nikodemos the Hagiorite might be noted: "When the soul has been purified, she is wholly ψυχή, according to St. Kallistos," (see *Symvouleuthikon Egcheiridion*, p. 21). Expressing his own personal view, Lossky asserts that "Man created 'in the image' is the person" (p. 139). This is saying something other than what the Fathers say. Moreover, the theological notion of the human person, unlike that of the soul, is problematic, as is evident from Lossky's own essay in this book, "The Theological Notion of the Human Person."

One other discussion in this book calls for special comment, that on Tradition. Lossky makes the following characteristic assertions about 'Tradition,' which he distinguishes from 'traditions': "Tradition in its primary notion is not the revealed content, but the unique mode of receiving Revelation" (pp. 154-55). "Tradition is a faculty of judging in the Light of the Holy Spirit" (p. 155). "Tradition represents the critical spirit of the Church" (p. 156). I submit that this is not the Patristic conception of Tradition. Significantly, Lossky does not offer even a single Patristic statement in support of this conception of Tradition. He relegates what the Fathers call tradition (παράδοσις) to the category of what he calls 'traditions.' These, he says, represent a 'horizontal line,' while 'Tradition' represents a 'vertical line' that crosses with the horizontal line. In my extensive reading of the Fathers, I have not encountered such a distinction (see my book, *He Orthodoxos Paradosis kai ho Synchronismos* [Athens, 1971]); and as I said, Lossky himself offers no statements from the Patristic texts to support it. The sole Greek text he cites is a statement of the Seventh Council in which, according to him, the theologians of this Council "distinguish clearly between the 'Tradition of the Holy Spirit' and the divinely inspired teaching of the Holy Fathers" (p. 165). But his rendering of the Greek text is very inaccurate. Thus, he renders the phrase "the tradition of the catholic Church" (ἡ παράδοσις τῆς καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας) as "the Tradition of the Holy Spirit;" and a little later, taking the phrase "Tradition of the catholic Church," he arbitrarily equates it with "the faculty of knowing the Truth in the Holy Spirit."

Apart from these features, which are open to criticism, it must be said that Vladimir Lossky's *In the Image and Likeness of God* is an important and sound presentation of the teaching of the Orthodox Church in the fields of Theology, Dispensation, and Anthropology. It is a brilliant and profound work, which should be of great interest and value to all those who are interested in Orthodox Christianity.

CONSTANTINE CAVARNOS
Belmont, Massachusetts

Karl Rahner, *Theological Investigations, Volume XII, Confrontations 2. A* Crossroad Book. New York: Seabury Press, 1974. Pp. 257. \$9.75.

The recent volume of Karl Rahner's *Theological Investigations* entitled *Confrontations* deals with several critical ecclesiological issues with which the Church has to cope today. As always, Karl Rahner reasons his arguments very tightly and treats each aspect of the subject exhaustively. One peculiarity of Rahner's is that he tends towards wordiness which distracts the reader's attention while he is coping with the author's severe theological thought. One example would be the following, cited from a section dealing with the charismatics:

The charismata which can be present in all Christians, and which therefore actually are present at least in germ in every justified individual who, as a member of the Body of Christ has a quite specific function to perform in that Body, are different from the Christian virtues and the actual and effective graces necessary for the exercise of these only in that in these virtues they make manifest that which is *ipso facto* present (albeit with varying degrees of effectiveness) in order for any Christian virtue to be practised in the Church, namely the outward sign of her nature as a society, of revelation, of the creed, of witness and of mission on the Church's behalf (p. 87).

I am persuaded that our author can do his readers an immense favor if he would only restructure these sentences.

Rahner makes the salient point that Catholic ecclesiology is based first and foremost upon the existence of an infallible teaching office within the Church. The Church is constituted as the experience in faith of God's grace-given bestowal of Himself upon the world in the absolute in Jesus Christ. This is the basis for the real effectiveness of the authority vested in the Church's official teachers. This self-bestowal of God cannot be defeated by error. The Church is an institution, and this means that she has an officially constituted body, an organ through which she realizes the fulness of her own true nature. The teaching office of the Church has a derivation from the Church both in respect to what she teaches and in the infallibility with which she teaches.

Of special concern for us today is Rahner's treatment of the concept of democracy. He states that what could be said of democracy in an ecclesiological sense could be expressed without using the word democracy at all. The fact that he uses the term democracy is in recognition of the fact that it is this term which is used today. It is clear that our author prefers the New Testament images of the "Body of Christ" and the pluralism of its functions, no one of which can be allowed to exclude the others, and all of which must work together. Also he is taken by the scriptural concept of brotherhood. Rahner limits the discussion of democracy to its relation to the Church's teaching office, and does not bear upon the broader question of how or in which ways the Church can or ought to be more democratic. As this regards the teaching office, Rahner states that some form of democratic collaboration in the decisions taken by the teaching office is not

impossible, and suggests that it is not un-catholic for the people of the Church to collaborate to a greater extent in the functions of the teaching office. However, this collaboration in the concrete must be both realistic and practicable. It is in this understanding of "brotherhood" that Rahner states it is quite impossible for a pope to take an *ex cathedra* decision in opposition to a clear majority of the bishops of the Church. I am unsure as to why Rahner states that this is impossible, and maintains also that this impossibility does not signify any formal or juridicial limitation of the pope's authority. He states that the impossibility is inherent in the reality itself.

The overall application of this doctrine of the authority of the Church's teaching office can best be seen in the chapter discussing the Charismatics in the Church. And here Rahner is an example of consistency. Rahner opens this section with a comparison of two concepts of holiness. The Church was conceived of as "holy" because of the holiness of the sacraments, that is to say in institutional factors. Individual holiness was not conceived of as an element intrinsic to the life of the Church herself but rather a product of the institutional activity. This, of course, betrays the force of Western soteriology which does not see man's goal, man's purpose as being his own personal perfection. The manifestation of Charismata are an integral part of the Church's nature as are the institutional factors. An important point to be considered is that each particular instance of sanctifying grace is designed to benefit the body of Christ as a whole. The possibility of an individual grace for the benefit of one particular member in isolation from the rest must be denied.

This charismatic activity must be seen as a concern, therefore, for the functionaries of the Church. The task is difficult. The Charismatic manifests himself in ever fresh and unexpected forms. The Charismata are imparted by the Holy Spirit according to his good pleasure. It is the function and duty of the Church to examine their Charismata, and her functionaries must never suppress them when they are found to be genuine, as the Church is not composed only of her functionaries but is the holy people of God. The officials must have the courage to allow fresh and hitherto unknown forms of the Charismatic factor in the Church to appear.

Rahner's most telling point is that the presence of the charismatic designates that point in the Church at which God as Lord of the Church presides over the Church as an "open system". In other words, and this is the best definition of "open system", in the practice of obedience there is no such thing as any "once and for all" universal and formal law laying down what form this exercise of obedience must assume.

Unquestionably this volume must be a disappointment to those conservative elements within Roman Catholicism who have grown accustomed to counting upon Rahner's contributions to use against the encroachments of the liberals. I am confident, however, that once past the liberal rhetoric which abounds in this volume, the conservative theologian will feel quite at home.

THEODORE H. CHELPON
Virginia Episcopal Seminary

Rainer Stichel, *Studien zum Verhältnis von Text und Bild spät- und nachbyzantinischer Vergänglichkeitsdarstellungen*. Vienna, 1971. Pp. 151. Paper.

The present study constitutes the fifth volume in the series *Byzantina Vindobonensia*. It is published jointly by the Commission for Early Christian and Eastern Church Art of the Austrian Academy of Sciences and by the Institute for Byzantine Studies of the University of Vienna.

The investigation begins with an interpretation of the miniature illustrations which introduce texts of the Psalter. These are contained in the Munich Serbian Psalter and the Bulgarian Tomic Psalter, both dating to the 14th century. The conclusion reached is that such miniatures are not an exclusive development of late 14th century southern Slavic origin. Rather, they were originally intended to illustrate Greek burial and penitential hymns in the eleventh century. From Greece the representations found entry into Slavic lands.

Having thus determined the origin of the text illustrations, the author proceeds to show their far-reaching development. The early text-illustration relationship was eventually displaced by stressing the pictorial representation. This displacement was conditioned by applying representations from the liturgical sphere to a book reserved for private meditation. Such a book was the Psalter, to which representations were added as devotional illustrations.

The representation "Cup of Death" common to both the Munich and Tomic Psalters stems from a Greek prototype. The text upon which this representation is based contains non-religious motifs preserved in the miniature of the Munich Psalter. On the contrary, the illustration of the Tomic Psalter introduces religious elements, which reduce the text's influence.

Another representation, that of the "Uncovered Remains" is alone conveyed in the Munich Psalter. The Tomic Psalter contains only a written expression of this illustration. The basis for this illustration was the liturgical burial hymn "I was mindful of the prophet."

A Greek Psalter with introductory miniatures dating from the first half of the fourteenth century has been cited. Its miniatures show a marked resemblance to those of the Munich and Tomic Psalters. The author thus concludes the first part of his investigation by confirming the Greek origin of these representations. Furthermore, he verifies their original function as illustrations accompanying burial and penitential hymns.

Part two of the investigation brings to the surface the result of another text-illustration relationship. This is typified in an illustration of the "Uncovered Remains", to which a new text was joined at the end of the 15th century. The text is a poem about the inescapability of death, which is supposedly uttered by the living person in the illustration. The poem's author is an otherwise unknown Sisoës.

A conscious attempt is again made to reduce the non-religious impact of the poem. This is achieved by modifying the text as opposed to the illustration. Such a development led partially to the complete displacement

of the illustration as opposed to the text.

The author points out that in Greece Sisoës, to whom the poem is attributed, is confused with the Egyptian saint Sisoës. The legend according to which St. Sisoës came upon a grave in the desert is connected to the poem of Sisoës. Sometimes the dead person represented is called Alexander. This fact led to the belief that St. Sisoës came upon the grave of Alexander the Great. The new legend thus displaces the poem's wording in varying degrees.

In Russia on the other hand, the representation of the "Uncovered Remains" was adopted from Greece at various times and preserved intact. The old Russian "Sinodik," a book containing names of the living and the dead, also contributes to the preservation. It contains the illustration of the Idiomelon "I was mindful of the prophet" as well as that of the poem "I see you, O Grave" in their original form. The examples of the history of the representation thereby preserved complement what we already know about its development. Moreover, even in Russia one discovers a shift in stress from illustration to text. The narrative "Account of a God-fearing Man" is in essence a description of the illustration accompanying the poem "I see you, O Grave."

The author concludes his investigation by confirming the constancy of traditional forms in Byzantine artistic representations of death. His purpose is enhanced both by the methodical approach employed in solving the problem, as well as by the appended illustrations.

LEWIS J. PATSAVOS

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Sidney R. Packard, *12th Century Europe: An Interpretive Essay*. Amherst: The University of Massachusetts, 1973. Pp. ix + 362. \$12.50.

Professor Sidney R. Packard, who taught history at Smith College for forty-two years and has had a distinguished career as author, government consultant, and administrator, has produced an exemplary historical study that attempts to give the critical reader a total picture of the twelfth century "in reasonably brief compass" but in a thoroughly readable style that will entice student and general reader alike but one that is based on firm grounding in the primary historical sources and the latest contemporary scholarship dealing with the mediaeval world. Dr. Packard offers the reader a synthesis of a period which he describes as "actually the first European century about which we are reasonably well informed" (p. 1) but one which hitherto has not been identified for its distinctive qualities and achievements or "for the isolation of the underlying factors which might explain their interrelationships or their causation" (*ibid.*). In practical chronological terms Professor Packard limits his study to the period 1096 to 1215 and argues, certainly successfully, that a careful investigation of the twelfth century would clearly reveal a major and basic period in the development of the history of Europe because it was a century that produced or participated

in a series of factors that were important to the formation of the European Middle Ages and to contemporary Europe.

After an Introduction that provides the rationale for this particular century, the author divides his discussion up into six basic chapters covering "Europe in 1100—Basic Factors" (geography and climate, population statistics, inheritance from the eleventh century); "Twelfth-Century European Economic Developments" (demography, feudalism, manor and village, the urban revolution, trade and traders, technology); "The Church" (the church as an institution, monasticism, the Papacy, separation of the Greek and Latin Churches, the Crusades). "The World of the Mind in Twelfth Century Europe" (The twelfth-century renaissance, monastic and episcopal schools, the universities, Roman, canon, and customary law, philosophy, theology, and heresy problems, political theory, economics and ethics, humanism, heresy and the mystics, science, and reflections); "The World of the Senses in Twelfth-Century Europe" (Latin and vernacular literature, "courtly literature," historical writing, drama and liturgy, architecture, Slavic architecture, the transition from Romanesque to Gothic, sculpture, and reflections); "The 'States' of Twelfth-Century Europe" (the semantic problem, feudalism and related problems, the twelfth-century renaissance and its political consequences, England and Sicily, England, Sicily, France, the German Empire, Italy, other European states, Kievan Russian, and reflections). The book also contains an incisive epilogue, bibliographical notes, a list of modern writers and their relevant books noted in the text, acknowledgments, and an index of persons and places referred to in the text. All in all, Dr. Packard's "interpretive essay" is a model of scholarly and pedagogical organization.

In terms of substance, the author demonstrates that the twelfth century had more and more diverse foodstuffs; that the revival of the towns and town life led to prosperity and problems; that there was a resurgence of spiritual leadership in the monastic world in this period; and that it was in the twelfth century that we witness the complete institutionalization of the Church under the Pope in the West and in much of Central Europe. Significant too was the visible rise of several political units that were to become nation-states and the effective compilation and extensive elucidation of Roman, canon, and common law. The Crusades are correctly evaluated as not only the greatest achievement of the mediaeval papacy, "but the First Crusade was also the first and possibly the only near approach to a united action by all Europe in its recorded history" (p. 147), but ultimately the Crusades were a massive failure that had tragic repercussions and consequences for subsequent history: they destroyed what they came to save; they left the Christians of Palestine to more complete and brutal control of the Muslims; and they helped destroy the Byzantine Empire and finalize the separation of the Greek and Latin Churches. The twelfth century also saw crucial developments in the matter of anti-Semitism, but also witnessed the virtual end of slavery. It was in this same century that universities originated as institutions, that the scholastic method was perfected, and there developed the university tradition in learning. In the world of architecture there was a transition from the Romanesque to the Gothic style and in language and literature mediaeval Latin proved to be both a vigorous and universal linguistic and literary force but there was also remarkable development of

vernacular languages and literatures with remarkable literacy among the laity. This was also the century of the German *Drang nach Osten* by which Germanic settlers penetrated Slavic lands beyond the Elbe with far ranging consequences for all of Europe. The twelfth century also saw considerable exploitation of silver mines (and other metals) in Hungary and elsewhere that led to significant economic change. Examples of free communities were in evidence and notable technological progress related to industrial and commercial expansion was made that affected political, social, and institutional aspects of European life.

Europe in the 1200's was an open society still a predominantly agricultural and rural area, though the urban movement made its greatest advances in this same century. Absolutely essential to any understanding of the twelfth century is the centrality of Christianity in both East and West. To quote the author extensively, "To the twelfth-century mind, the only all-embracing unity in what we should call the European area was in religion and in government by the central authority of the Roman papacy. The eastern Church still rested squarely on the only truly ecumenical councils of the whole Church (seven in number from 325 to 787, recognized by both the eastern and the western Churches), preserved the more decentralized controls of the patriarchal tradition, and was very much subservient in its major divisions to secular controls, imperial or others. The eastern Church refused to recognize the bishop of Rome as head of the whole Church and denied the authority of councils called by popes and limited in their membership to the west in matters of doctrine or dogma" (p. 99). Particularly commendable in Dr. Packard's study is his insistence that the Byzantine East and the Slavic world be conscientiously included in painting any picture of 12th century Europe. No serious study can afford to neglect the role of the Greek Orthodox Church for that historical picture. Professor Packard devotes appropriate space to a discussion of the qualities and differences between the Eastern and Western Churches.

12th Century Europe is substantial testimony to Sidney Packard's conclusion that "Twelfth-century Europe is a classic example of a human society which was always tied to its past, was always irretrievably committed to change, and was thus infinitely complex" (p. 325). What is more, his reconstruction of the 12th century is a fascinating depiction that makes history live again, and does so in a way that is responsible, revealing, judicious, and comprehensive. East and West, North and South are put in proper perspective. All the basic institutions, significant movements, and striking personalities are placed in proper balance for an accurate understanding of a crucial period in European history,

JOHN E. REXINE
Colgate University

Konstantinos Papoulides, **Ὁνοματολάτραι** [Worshippers of the Name.] Thessalonike, 1971. Pp. 50. Paper.

The author examines the latest theological dispute arising on Mount Athos. Involved were Russian monks, known as **Honomatolatrai** (worshippers of the name) who believed that the invocation of the name of God has divine power. While the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Church of Russia have condemned the partisans of this doctrine as schismatics or heretics, the author is of the opinion that the doctrine is a "theologoumenon," that is, a doctrine open to legitimate discussion within the Orthodox Church of Russia and theology in general. Moreover, he views it as a problem which has not yet found its proper solution.

Dr. Papoulides divides his subject into three chapters: 1) The birth and growth of the dispute on Mount Athos, 2) The transfer of the dispute from Mount Athos to Russia, and 3) The transfer of the dispute, after 1917 to Western Europe by the self-exiled Russian theologians and philosophers.

The present study, is of course, only a preliminary introduction to a subject which has not been adequately studied in Greek theology.

Stylianios G. Papadopoulos, **Γρηγόριος ὁ Θεολόγος καὶ αἱ Προϋποθέσεις Πνευματολογίας αὐτοῦ**. [Gregory the Theologian and the Presuppositions of His Pneumatology.] Athens, 1971. Pp. 162. Paper.

Dr. Papadopoulos, who is professor of Patristics in the University of Athens, views the presuppositions of the pneumatology of Gregory the Theologian as being of a double nature: historico-grammatical and theological.

The first part in which the whole dispute over Pneumatomacheanism is reviewed is of greater interest for Church History. In it much study is devoted to the extant Pneumatomachean and anti-Pneumatomachean texts and to the entire history of the controversy. In other words, the author examines the name, the place, and the time of the appearance of this heresy; the number of its followers, its spread, and its final disappearance. Gregory himself was one of the main supporters of the Orthodox faith in this whole controversy, having greatly influenced the dogmatic formulation of pneumatology in the Orthodox Church.

The author devotes a great deal of space to the discussion of the works of J. Plagnieux (Paris, 1951) and D. Tsames (Thessalonike, 1969) concerning Gregory the Theologian. He also announces the preparation of a work on the teaching of Gregory of Nazianzos on the Holy Spirit and notes the absence in Greek of any special studies on the Pneumatomachean controversy and on the teaching of analogy.

Apostolos A. Glavinas, *Ἡ ἐπὶ Ἀλεξίου Κομνηνοῦ (1081-1118) περὶ Ἱερῶν Σκευῶν, Καμηλίων καὶ Ἀγίων Εἰκόνων Ἔρις*. [The Controversy Over Sacred Vessels, Treasures, and Holy Icons in the Reign of Alexios Komnenos (1081-1118). Thessalonike, 1972. Pp. 217. Paper.

The author of this doctoral dissertation, submitted to the School of Theology of the University of Thessalonike is a graduate of the Theological School of Halke (1963). Subsequently, he continued his graduate studies in a number of academic centers in Western Europe and now serves as an Associate in the field of Church History under Professor Ioannes Anastasiou of the above university.

It was in the reign of Emperor Alexios I Komnenos, who was well versed in Orthodox theology and who showed an active interest in the preservation of the Orthodox faith, that the controversy broke out.

The Norman attacks on Byzantium and the subsequent financial and economic difficulties suffered by the Empire caused Alexios to turn his attention to the Church as a possible source of ready income. He believed that by selling some of the possessions of the Church he would be providing for the salvation of the Empire by preventing its enslavement and dissolution.

In addition to the emperor, his brother Isaakios, the Ecumenical Patriarch Eustathios Garids, Nicholas Grammatikos, and Metropolitan Leo of Chalkedon were the principle protagonists in the controversy.

In short, this controversy may be considered to have been the last attempted resurrection of Iconoclasm in Byzantium.

Andreas I. Phytrakes, *Ὁ Οἰκουμενικὸς Πατριάρχης Μελέτιος Μεταξάκης*. [Ecumenical Patriarch Meletios Metaxakes.] Athens, 1973. Pp. 38. Paper.

Professor Phytrakes of the University of Athens, himself a Cretan, discusses in this brief study the life of Patriarch Meletios, a great son of Crete and of Greece.

After reviewing Metaxakes' career from early childhood to the end of his life (1871-1935), Phytrakes gives a general evaluation of the Patriarch's work.

Like any other human being, Metaxakes had weaknesses and experienced some failures, but these were not of a kind that were able to diminish his very positive contributions to his Church and Nation.

Patriarch Meletios belonged to the brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. After serving there as a deacon and priest, he was elected bishop in Cyprus. Later, he was elected Metropolitan of Athens and Primate of Greece. From Greece he moved on to the United States where he directed the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America. He crossed the Atlantic and Mediterranean to become Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople (1921-1923) only to close out his ecclesiastical career as Patriarch of Alexandria (1926-1935).

96. THE GREEK ORTHODOX THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

"It is very difficult," says Phytrakes, "for one to deny the fact that Patriarch Meletios was an extraordinary and powerful personality . . . contemporary Orthodoxy's greatest leading figure in the first half of our century."

VASIL T. ISTAVRIDES
Patriarchal Theological School of Halke

§ 2 THE GREEK ORTHODOX THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

ERRATA

- Page 7, line 33: for July 1895—read July 1895!
- Page 11, line 18: for Ἐπισκοπικοὶ—read Ἐπισκοπικοὶ
- Page 12, line 8: for Κῶδιξ—read Κῶδιξ
- Page 13, line 2: for Ἑστία—read Ἑστία
- Page 13, line 11: for συμπληρούσα—read συμπληροῦσα
- Page 14, line 16: for Θεολογία—read Θεολογία,
- Page 14, line 22: for Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἱστορία—read
Ἐκκλησιαστικὴν Ἱστορίαν
- Page 14, line 34: for Οἱ—read Οἱ-
- Page 15, line 18: for Analekta—read Analekta.
- Page 23, line 30: for above—read below
- Page 23, line 35: add Μνημεῖα Μακεδονικῆς Ἱστορίας
- Page 26, line 39: for Διδυμοτείχου—read Διδυμοτείχου,
- Page 26, line 40: for Thessalonike—read (Thessalonike
- Page 27, line 1: for Ateses, I, 144—read Ateses (I, 144)
- Page 27, line 9: for "Αθω",—read "Αθω,"
- Page 32, line 35: for (TEE, IX, 459)—read (TEE, IX, 459),
- Page 33, lines 9-10: for (Leukoma, p. 110), Janin, Dictionnaire,
XII, 275—read (Leukoma, p. 110), or Janin (Dictionnaire,
XII, 276).
- Page 33, line 23: for Atheses—read Ateses
- Page 34, line 18: for νησιακὰ—read νησιακά,
- Page 36, line 12: for (Thrakika, LXV ((1971)), 284)—read
Thrakika, LXV (1971), 284. He
- Page 37, line 9: for (ibid.)—read (II, 147).
- Page 45, line 32: for dioceses—read diocèses
- Page 47, line 28: for Vaporis, Codex—read Codex

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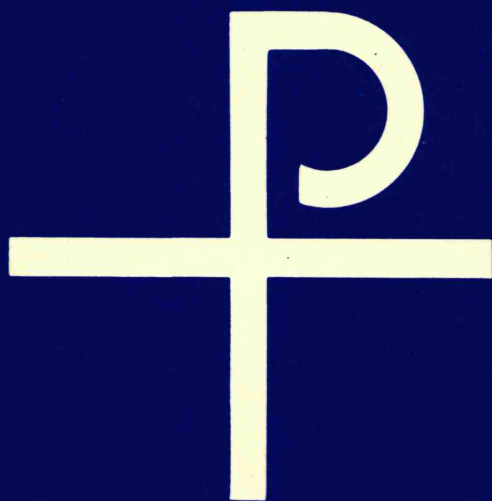
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**The
Greek
Orthodox
Theological
Review**



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PATRON

†THE MOST REVEREND ARCHBISHOP IAKOVOS

*PRIMATE OF THE GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCH
IN THE AMERICAS*

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